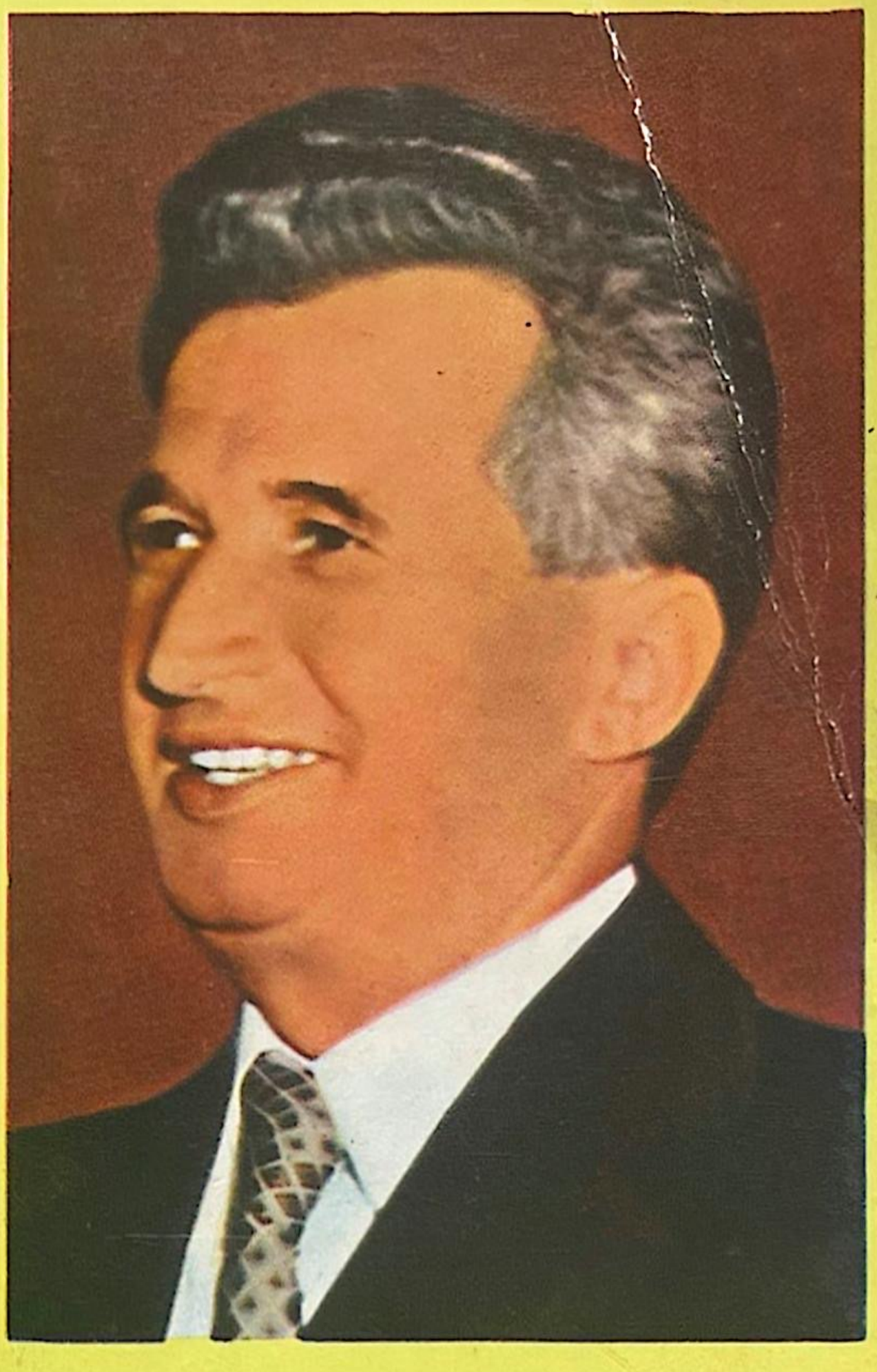
THE SOCIO-POLITICAL THINKING OF ROMANIA'S PRESIDENT

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU



Cardinal Problems of Our Time: Eliminating Underdevelopment, Bridging Gaps Between States, Building a New International Economic Order

MERIDIANE PUBLISHING HOUSE

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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FOREWORD

President Nicolae Ceauşescu's outlook on the new international economic order, adopted by the Romanian Communist Party and laid down in its Programme, has become a basic orientation of the Party's foreign policy, the guidance and the stimulus of Romania's active participation in the work for building a new structure of economic and political relations among nations.

The conception is deeply rooted in President Ceauşescu's entire thinking, political activity and personality. A unitary dialectical materialistic outlook on the contemporary world, on its problems and destinies, this conception developed as a natural continuation of the orientations advanced by President Nicolae Ceauşescu even since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965. Ever since then, the Romanian leader has distinguished himself through his consistent stand and actions in favour of the inalienable right of the peoples to choose freely the path of their development, to decide their destinies without any outside immixture, in favour of the political and economic independence of the nations, for grounding the relations among them on new principles and norms, for a democratic mechanism of cooperation among states, so that equality, equity and effective participation of all states in solving the problems confronting mankind become solid rules in international life. Even since the second half of the last decade, a major coordinate in the thinking of the General Secretary of the Party has been the idea that in a world in which there are and there will be in the long run great differences among states in point of socio-economic system, political conception, dimension, economic and political strength, the complete restructuring of international relations is a prerequisite for the economic and social progress of each and every people, for world stability

and peace. That is why, Romania has naturally joined the movement of the developing countries for a new order, considering it as a continuation of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, an expression of the class struggle on an international plane; she has actively militated for shattering the illusions about the effectiveness of mere formal changes, for the modification in depth of the contents of inter-state relations, for a basically new system of international relations.

Starting from Romania's experience, from the endegenous character of development and from the primordial role which the efforts made by the peoples themselves should play, Romania's President lays stress on those changes which can and must ensure an unhampered development, on new basis, of the cooperation among nations, the restructuring of the world system, so as to allow the nations be masters on their resources, decide themselves their fate, and base the economic and social progress on the national economy. That is why, the Ceaușescu doctrine stresses the need for a new political order as an inseparable link in a new system of international relations and attaches particular significance to the problems regarding disarmament, democratization of the United Nations Organization and the enhancement of its role in the international economic and political life.

According to this doctrine, the building of a new economic order corresponds to the interests of all nations and must be the outcome of the joint efforts of the states, irrespective of their size, development level and social system.

The pages of this volume were selected from works of recent years and are grouped so as to render an image on the basic elements of a conception developed and sustained by a political activity remarkable through its consistency, intensity and scope, implying frequent contacts with heads of state and government, leaders of political parties and mass organizations on all continents.

I

An Obsolete System of International Economic Relations

1. WORLD'S DIVISION INTO DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WIDENING OF THE GAPS AMONG NATIONS

(. . .) One of the most burning questions to be solved in the world today is to bridge the yawning economic, technological and scientific gaps separating the industrialized and the developing countries — gaps that are a serious obstacle in the path of development and cooperation among nations, a source of mistrust and tension in the world. This demand, which must become a basic preoccupation for the whole international community, imposes both the mobilization of the peoples' efforts for their accelerated economic and social progress and the liquidation of their lagging behind, and practical measures in support of these efforts, to which the advanced countries are in duty bound to make a substantial contribution. (. . .) (1)*

(. . .) We cannot overlook the fact that the discrepancies between the advanced countries and those lagging behind are growing bigger. The liquidation of underdevelopment in the shortest time, the establishing of a new international economic and political order which should stimulate the wide and free development of all states, and first of all, the more rapid development of the countries lagging behind are, in our opinion, fundamental conditions for the ensuring of progress and peace in the present-day world. In fact, the solving of the present complex economic issues is directly connected with the close cooperation among the states all over the world. (. . .) (2)

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* Figures in brackets show bibliographic source (see *Index*, p. 191)

(. . .) The complex problems of contemporary international life include also the economic ones and especially the phenomenon of underdevelopment — an outcome of the imperialist, colonialist policy of inequity and of oppressing other peoples. It is obvious that the existence of developed, even very developed countries, and of less developed, and even underdeveloped countries, the division of the world into rich and poor countries, decisively influence and will influence the development of international relations. (. . .) (3)

(. . .) Contemporary developments have shown that the maintaining and deepening of economic gaps between states — an outcome of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies — generate serious inequity in international relations. (. . .) (4)

(. . .) We consider that a major problem of contemporary international life which has to be solved as speedily as possible by the efforts of all the peoples is the liquidation of underdevelopment in which some peoples of Africa and Asia still are, of the big economic and social gaps, created particularly due to the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. It becomes ever more evident today that the maintenance of this old policy, which has divided the world into rich and poor countries inevitably leads to the deepening of international political and economic instability and the sharpening of the sources of tension and conflict. (. . .) (5)

(. . .) More than anything else, however, mankind is faced with the underdevelopment issue, with the fact that there is a small group of developed states, on the one hand, some of them even too developed — whose population is much below one thousand million people —, and there are scores of poorly developed states, on the other hand, accounting for almost two thirds of mankind. Many consider — and I think this accords with the reality — that in recent years the gap between the developed and poorly developed states has grown deeper, and that one can really speak, on a world-wide level, of a world's division into rich and poor. Of course, one can discuss about this formulation being the most correct from a philosophic viewpoint, but, from the viewpoint of reality, it is an unquestionable truth and account should be taken of this truth. (. . .) (6)

(. . .) We are concerned with the implementation of a new economic order. It is hard for us to agree with the present situation in the world. We did not agree with past situation in Romania, either, when society was divided into rich and poor. How can we reconcile ourselves with the fact that two thirds of mankind live in underdevelopment and that the gaps between rich and poor are widening? (. . .) (7)

(. . .) The elimination of underdevelopment is one of the fundamental problems of today on which international détente, peace and collaboration depend. Two thirds of the world being underdeveloped or developing, the world's division into rich countries and poor countries is an outcome of historical development, the consequence of the old, imperialist and colonialist relations of domineering and exploitation, of inequality and inequity. (. . .) (8)

(. . .) The fact that two thirds of mankind are underdeveloped or developing is one of the most serious anomalies of the contemporary world which narrows down the sphere of material production and the sale of products, and has negative repercussions on the development and stability of the whole world economy. (. . .) (9)

(. . .) The realities of the world today show that the gap separating the developing and the developed states, far from being diminished, is deepening continuously, the economic and social situation of a great number of peoples keeps worsening especially as a consequence of the crisis that has affected a series of capitalist countries. The problems of raw materials, energy and food acquire an ever sharper character. International economic cooperation is seriously disturbed by the economic and currency crisis, by many artificial obstacles, discriminatory barriers and inequities. (. . .) (10)

(. . .) The division of the world into rich and poor countries is a reality of our days — I dare say, undesired, but nonetheless a reality — and is the direct outcome of the colonialist policy, of the fact that, for centuries, a relatively small number of countries have exploited scores and scores of peoples. The solving of the underdevelopment problem is today one of the fundamental conditions for general progress, for a more just and better world. In this connection,

naturally the general problem is raised of building a new international economic order, based on equality, on a mutually advantageous collaboration. (. . .) (11)

(. . .) We believe that the abolishment as soon as possible of underdevelopment, of the big gaps in the development of various countries, is an essential problem for the contemporary world's progress and peace, a major target which must be in the focus of the whole international community. (. . .)

(. . .) The press of some economically advanced states draws comparisons between the living standard in Romania and the standards in other developing countries, on the one hand, and the standards in the respective countries on the other hand. The press organs concerned do not mention, however, that Romania, all the developing countries, have lagged behind as a direct result of the long foreign domination and their being exploited by the big imperialist monopolies. The fact is forgotten that on the eve of World War II over 50 per cent of the Romanian economy was in the hands of international imperialist monopolies which appropriated fabulous benefits obtained from our national riches and our people's work, while the per-capita national income in Romania was only $ 80. As is known, at the end of the war our country's national income in relation to that of the developed countries was 20—30 times smaller; today this difference is only 3—4 times. These are the causes why Romania is a developing country, this is why we have to make sustained efforts in order to bridge the gaps between us and the advanced countries as quickly as possible. It would be advisable that the press mentioned above should not criticize those who were exploited and robbed of their national riches, that it should not criticize the poor, but those who oppressed and robbed them, that it should criticize those who bear the main responsibility for the under-development of many peoples, for the world's division into poor and rich countries, that it should act to make the rich give back to the oppressed part of what they had unjustly appropriated by exploitation. The question arises whether dividing the world into rich countries and poor ones is a correct classification. First of all this classification is a reality no one can overlook. Secondly, it is the expression, on a world plane, of the policy of exploiting many

peoples, the expression of the consequences entailed by the relations of inequality and inequity promoted by imperialism and colonialism. (. . .) (12)

(. . .) The widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, between the poor and the rich countries, resulting from the old imperialist, colonialist policy, is a problem of cardinal importance in our days. It is difficult to accept the perpetuation of the present situation, of the fact that countries representing less then 25 per cent of the world's population account for 80 per cent of the gross world product, whereas three quarters of the world's population account for only 20 per cent. It is in this context that the concern and activity of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order should be viewed. I should like to mention with satisfaction the participation of Romania — a developing socialist country — in the activity of that group of states. Believing this is an important factor of international peace, Romania is determined to do everything in her power for strengthening solidarity among the developing countries, increasing her contribution to filling the gaps among states and to a faster progress of the countries lagging behind. (. . .) (13)

2. A WORLD ORDER BASED ON RELATIONS OF INEQUITY AND EXPLOITATION

(. . .) There have been some until not long time ago — and unfortunately at present too, who attempt at extolling the old rules and principles of inequity in inter-state relations.

And it is precisely this policy that has determined the maintenance of almost two thirds of the world in a state of underdevelopment, the division of the world into rich and poor countries. The establishment of a new international economic order which open the path to the elimination of underdevelopment, the path of fast progress to each nation, everybody's access to the gains of universal science and culture is necessary more than ever before. We must constantly set out from the idea that each people, regardless of size or social system must equally and freely enjoy the benefits of civilization. (. . .) (14)

(. . .) The question of the new international economic order is linked to the fact that two thirds of mankind are underdeveloped or developing. It presupposes the liquidation of the old relations of inequality, of some states oppressing others, of the world's division into poor and rich countries — a result of the old policy of inequity. (. . .) (15)

(. . .) As known, the former world economic order — in fact, the political order, too — relied on inequality and on the oppression of some peoples by imperialist and colonialist circles. (. . .) (16)

3. UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND INEQUALITY — SOURCES OF INSTABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE AND OF WORLD ECONOMY

(. . .) As demonstrated by facts, world life grows more interdependent, and disproportions and lags in one or another zone of the world have in the long run bigger or lesser repercussions on all states and affect economic relations in general. It is obvious that as long as the world is divided into developed and underdeveloped states, into rich and poor states, it will not be possible to solve adequately a series of crisis phenomena in international economic life. That is why the liquidation of the underdevelopment phenomenon is an objective demand of contemporary social development itself, of the progress of all states of the world, of a policy of international peace and cooperation. (. . .) (17)

(. . .) It is obvious that the phenomena engendered by the present economic and financial crisis, with all its consequences, are the result of the development of some states at the expense of others, of more limited possibilities of economic development following the widening of the gap between the advanced and the developing states, of the unreasonable consumption, of the waste of raw materials and energy resources in a number of countries. This state of affairs emphatically points to the necessity of solving the problems on the basis of the principles of equality and with the participation of all the states, of establishing a new economic and political world order, of democratizing international rela-

tions and of drawing up new standards of international law in keeping with the changes that have occurred in the world. (. . .) (18)

(. . .) The maintenance and even the deepening of the great economic gaps between states, as a result of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies is, nowadays, a source of serious inequity in international relations, of tension and conflicts, of continuous aggravation of world political and economic instability. (. . .) (19)

(. . .) The present-day problems must be solved in a new manner, with the participation of all states, and by renouncing many of the old principles and concepts on inter-state economic relations.

In fact, the present economic crisis is the result of superdevelopment of a small number of countries, and the lag of a large number of states, fact which has narrowed the path of an equilibrated development of world economy. (. . .) (20)

(. . .) It is known that current international economic life is marked by a series of particularly complex questions. The maintenance of old, inequitable relations accentuates the manifestations of economic crisis and instability, generates inflation phenomena, which is reflected to a greater or smaller extent, in the economy of all states. (. . .) (21)

(. . .) Another problem is that of under-development of the liquidation of the great discrepancies existing between the advanced and underdeveloped states — which nowadays constitute a serious source of economic and political instability, a stressing of the crisis phenomena. It is with ever greater keenness that life sets before peoples the necessity of doing away with the imperialist colonialist policy which has divided the world into rich and poor countries, of establishing a new international economic and political order, new, actually equal relations among the states which should ensure a faster progress of all peoples and first of all of those lagging behind — the unlimited access of each nation to the achievements of contemporary civilization. (. . .) (22)

(. . .) Life powerfully demonstrates that the existence of big gaps between the economic and social development le-

vels of states, the perpetuation of underdevelopment in which a considerable part of mankind still lives inevitably leads to the accentuation of the phenomena of crisis and world economic and political instability, generates tension and conflicts, being a permanent source of danger to the peace and security of the whole mankind. It becomes ever more evident that genuine détente, real and lasting peace cannot exist while underdevelopment, the old colonialist and neo-colonialist practices, the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid are maintained which hamper the peoples from free and independent development, from being the masters of their national riches, of the fruit of their labour. (...) (23)

(...) Just as on a national plane, when richness is being created at one pole, and misery, exploitation at another pole, an elucidation, a liquidation of this state of affairs must occur, on the international plane too, the situation created cannot continue without producting seisms, without finding ways of solution. (...) (24)

(...) The phenomena of crisis embracing all spheres of social-economic life in the systems based on exploitation point out very strikingly to the fact that the former relations of inequality, oppression and dictate generated by imperialism and colonialism are historically obsolete and doomed to disappearance, that nodoby and nothing can hinder the triumph of the new economic order, the building of a more just and better world on our Planet. (...) (25)

II

Building the New International Economic Order — an Imperative Demand of Our Time

(. . .) The new international economic order, the building of a better and more just world, presuppose precisely the ensuring of conditions for every nation, every people to attain a level of economic and social development that would allow it to enjoy more and more the blessings and gains of world science and knowledge. (. . .) (26)

(. . .) Taking account of the complex issues of the world economic situation, of the current economic crisis, we consider that the achievement of a new international economic order should rapidly lead to the liquidation of the old relations of inequity, should ensure a rational development of productive forces in all states, create conditions for an adequate fructification of raw materials, but also for an adequate ratio of the price of raw materials to the price of industrial goods.

In general, in my opinion, the new economic order should create conditions to all states for an equitable collaboration upon the principle of equality, should favour the liquidation of underdevelopment, the relative evening up of their development levels, the access of all countries under advantageous conditions to the gains of contemporary science and technique — essential conditions for the future progress of the productive forces, for economic stability, international peace, détente and collaboration. (. . .) (27)

(. . .) Romania considers it necessary that efforts of all states should be intensified for the building of a new international economic and political order, of new genuinely democratic and equitable relations able to lead to the acceleration of the economic and social progress of all peoples, of the lagging ones in the first place, to secure broad and un-

hampered access of each nation to the gians of modern science and culture, of contemporary civilization. (. . .) (28)

(. . .) With a view to establishing a new order, the following principles should be taken account of:

1. The new international economic and political order implies the resolute elimination of the old relations of inequity, of the oppression of some peoples by others; it calls for the abolition of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy.

2. It is necessary to establish new relations based on fully equal rights for all the nations of the world, on observance of the right of each people to be the master of its national resources and independently to decide on their utilization.

3. It is also necessary to observe the right of each people to choose the social system it desires, without any outside interference, and the right of each nation to independent economic and social development.

4. The new order calls for drastic measures aimed at a rapid bridging of the gap between the developed and the underdeveloped countries, at bringing closer the levels of economic and social development of all the countries, in accordance, of course, with the specific historical, geographical and climatic conditions of each state, the material requirements of the peoples in relation to the conditions in which they are living.

5. It is also imperative to establish a fair ratio between the prices of raw materials and of industrial products, fixed on the basis of economic laws and taking into consideration both the use value of the goods and the value determined by the labour required for their production.

6. The prices of raw materials and industrial goods must be fixed starting from the need to stimulate the production activity of all the peoples. In the present conditions, these prices must promote the more rapid progress of the underdeveloped countries.

7. At the same time it is necessary to secure the access of all countries to raw materials and energy resources, just as all states must have access to the gains of modern science and technology, in view of the fact that the elimination of underdevelopment and the rapid progress of all nations can only be achieved on the basis of the most recent gains of contemporary science and technology.

8. In this connection we believe that it is necessary for special programmes to be drawn up under the aegis of the United Nations and of other international agencies which should concentrate the efforts of the states with a view to the carrying out of objectives of vital importance for the development of human civilization.

9. Within the framework of the new international economic and political order special attention has to be paid to the food problem. Drastic measures must be taken with a view to the more rapid growth of agricultural output, the harnessing of new resources, especially in the developing countries, the carrying out of vast irrigation operations, soil improvement and land reclamation, and the rapid development of the production of fertilizers and other chemicals which agriculture needs. At the same time sustained efforts must be made by scientists to produce new strains of highly productive seeds and of new livestock breeds acclimatized to the various zones in the developing countries. In this connection we believe that it is necessary for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to carry out a complex programme aimed at a more rapid solution of the food problem, which is of vital importance for the existence and the progress of the whole mankind.

10. Furthermore, resolute measures must be taken in order to provide technical assistance to industry and agriculture and to step up assistance in the training of the national cadres needed for the implementation of these programmes. (. . .) (29)

(. . .) In her approach to the question of a new international economic order, Romania sets out from the fact that underdevelopment is an outcome of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination, of the human society's historical evolution in general. Hence also the need for the old relations of inequity to be eliminated and a new economic order established which ought to be seen in the framework of the existence of countries with different social systems — a reality of the contemporary world which will continue to exist for a long while. It is precisely on setting out from this reality that we must find the way to achieve new-type international relations opposed to the former imperialist relations of domineering. According to our outlook, these relations must be grounded on mutual equality and

advantage, on the right of the peoples to be the masters of their natural riches, on the entrenchment of a fair indexing of the prices of raw materials to industrial products which should favour the raw materials owning-countries and help them with their economic and social development, ensuring them access to technologies and everything resulting here-from, of course. We thus consider that all the economic and financial relations should be founded on equal rights among states, on equitable exchanges, beneficial to all the partners. (. . .) (30)

1. THE NECESSITY OF FIRMLY GROUNDING INTER-STATE RELATIONS ON NEW PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY, SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND EQUITY

(. . .) Building of a new economic order also presupposes a new political order, new rules of international justice which should entrench superior principles like respect for the nations, peoples and man's right to be the masters of their destinies, to order their life according to their own aspirations. Such a concept of international law will enable the opening of the path to fruitful cooperation among all peoples, in all domains of activity. (. . .) (31)

(. . .) We have to work for new international economic relations, in whose achievement all states, irrespective of size, should actively participate.

No problem, and the more so that of economic relations, can be solved by a few states any longer. The developing countries, the small and medium-sized countries desirous of securing their fast economic and social progress and independence, have to more and more actively participate in the settlement of all issues. The very development of the process of detente and trust among nations, the fate of peace in the world depend on it. (. . .) (32)

(. . .) We are convinced that no people can make progress unless it cooperates extensively with other nations; we are also convinced that no nation can ever be free under foreign domination and a nation that admits the holding of other peoples under its sway cannot be called free, either. There-

fore, what we really mean is inter-state relations between free, equal nations, always ready to unite their strength for the triumph of peace and progress. (. . .) (33)

(. . .) As I have already said, the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy has held under domination a great number of states and, as you know, first of all the small and medium-size countries. But already after the Second World War the situation started to change; of late, the small and medium-size countries, which are generally developing countries, countries which fight for an independent economic and social development, for being masters of the national riches — just as the Latin-American countries — have acquired greater national and social consciousness, have understood that their progress is linked to the powerful affirmation in international life of a new policy, which should ensure to each nation regardless of size the right to take part in the solving of all problems, of developing independently.

Indeed, the latest events have powerfully highlighted the force of the small and medium-size countries, of the countries possessing raw materials, in the realization of a new international order which should lead to the founding of economic relations and of inter-state relations on the whole on new principles which presuppose equitable ratio between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial products, enabling industrialization and hence the faster progress of the developing countries.

We set out from the fact that the small and medium-size countries, countries which speak up for a new policy of independent development of each nation and of equality can have — and in our opinion will have — an ever more important role in international life. The time has gone when international problems could be solved by merely a few countries. We must set out from the fact that the realization of a new order in international life is a necessity for all nations — small, big, medium-sized, developed and developing — that the achievement of a lasting peace presupposes relations of justice, of better relations on a national and international plane. (. . .) (34)

(. . .) Now, more than ever before, the peoples, the people's masses everywhere give pride of place to the necessity of liquidating the imperialist, colonialist and neo-

colonialist policy, the old relations of domination and inequity. They declare firmly for basing inter-state relations on new principles, of equality, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, for achieving a new, more just and better international economic and political order. (. . .) (35)

(. . .) The liquidation of this situation calls, first of all, for the firm removal from the international life of these old relations and the establishment of a new economic and political order, of new inter-state relations, based on full equality of rights, on respect for national independence and sovereignty, for the right of every people to freely decide its destinies, to be master of its national riches and to sovereignly decide their use. (. . .) (36)

(. . .) Thoroughly analyzing the changes in the world balance of forces, and the trends of development of society, we must draw adequate conclusions on the international activity of our Party and State of continually developing cooperation with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, with all world states irrespective of social system. In this spirit it is necessary to take strong action for the assertion of the new international economic and political order, of the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and renunciation of use or threatened use of force in inter-state relations. (. . .) (37)

(. . .) The balance of forces has changed and is continually changing. The peoples' will asserts itself strongly of being the master of their national riches, of being free, of attaining relationships grounded on equality, observance of independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and renunciation of use and threat with force in the settlement of issues. All this lends new prospects for the relations to be grounded upon new bases and a new economic and political order to be established which should secure each nation the possibility of free development according to its will. But sustained efforts by all states are necessary for this and an active participation of each nation in the settlement of the international issues as this is the only way whereby a new policy of equality and a lasting peace can be attained. (. . .) (38)

(. . .) Such a new order demands relations of full equality among all states, irrespective of their size or social system, it imposes respect for every people's independence and sovereignty, ensuring mutual advantage, abolishment of every kind of discrimination and artificial barriers from the path of international trade and cooperation among nations, the creation of every condition for the intensification of free economic exchanges and collaboration. (. . .)

(. . .) In our opinion, a high sense of equity in inter-state exchanges and economic cooperation relations is of a nature to favour also the cause of social justice on a national plane, to positively bear on the process of progressive development of human society, the accomplishment of the aspirations for welfare and happiness of the people's mass everywhere. (. . .) (39)

(. . .) For the settlement of the underdevelopment questions and for ensuring a faster progress of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, of all the developing countries generally, it is nesessary that the old relations of inequity and oppression be completely removed and new international relations established founded on equality, equity, implementation of programmes of effective aid to the developing countries, for increasing the productive forces, both in industry and in agriculture, as also for advancing science, education, as important factors of a speedy progress. (. . .) (40)

(. . .) The settlement of the current complex economic issues calls for the liquidation of the old relations based on exploitation and domination, the establishment of a new international economic order, based on full equality and equity of states, on principles and relations that should ensure the rapid progress of all countries and first of all of the lagging ones, that should favour broad and unhampered cooperation among states, free access of all peoples to the gains of science and technique, of contemporary civilization. (. . .)

(. . .) Efforts should also be intensified for the elimination of underdevelopment, for bridging the gaps between rich and poor states, for the establishment of truly equitable relations among countries, securing progress and prosperity to all nations, for a new international economic order.

The complex character of the issues confronting mankind today imperatively calls for the participation in international life of all states on an equal footing, regardless of social system, size, economic or military power, primarily of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing countries, of the non-aligned states — directly interested in the abolishment of the old imperialist policy of strength and dictate, in the settlement of international questions in the interest of the self-dependent development of all states, in observance of the right of each nation to free development in keeping with its aspirations and will. (. . .)

(. . .) The new principles of respect for each people's right to be master of its destiny, of fully equal rights, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, renunciation of force or threat with force should firmly underlie the whole international life. We are firmly decided to make in the future, too, our active contribution to the implementation of European security as also to the world peace, the establishment of the new international economic and political order, to a world of peaceful collaboration on a equal footing among all peoples. (. . .) (41)

(. . .) Setting out from these considerations, Romania firmly declares for the achievement of a new international economic order and, of course, of a new international political order, implicitly, since the new relations of equity, of equality should be achieved not only in the economic but also in the other domains of activity. (. . .) (42)

(. . .) All the nations, regardless of size and social system must take part in the settlement of the complex issues of the contemporary world. Particular attention must be granted in this respect to the small, medium-sized and developing countries, to non-aligned countries which are all vitally interested in the democratization of inter-state relations, in the establishment of a new world economic order. (. . .) (43)

(. . .) As we also pointed out at the Eleventh Party Congress, we consider that the establishment of the new order should set out first of all from the complete elimination of the policy of inequality, of some peoples being dominated and oppressed by others, of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. The new order calls for the esta-

blishment in the world of new relations, based on the fully equal rights of all nations, on the observance of each people's right to be the full master of its national riches, to freely choose its economic and social development path, without any outside immixture. (. . .) (44)

(. . .) This also calls for the democratization of international relations, the equal participation of all states, first of all the small and middle-sized countries, of the developing states and the non-aligned ones, in the settlement of the complex problems of contemporary mankind. (. . .) (45)

(. . .) The development of contemporary life calls all peoples to work for the democratization of international relations, for the equal participation, of all states, whatever their size or social system, in the resolution of the problems. We have first in view the participation, on an equal footing, of the small and middle-sized countries, of the developing countries, of the non-aligned countries. (. . .) (46)

(. . .) Our entire international activity, our relations with all the states are firmly based upon the principles of full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, the observance of each people's right to be a master over its own destiny, of using its national wealth in view of its own development, to secure its free and independent development, without any interference from outside. (. . .) (47)

(. . .) A constructive settlement of the complex issues in the world today requires that every country, irrespective of size or social system, take active part in international life on an equal footing. In this respect, a particular role devolves on the developing countries and the non-aligned countries, which are deeply interested in liquidating the old imperialist policy of inequality and oppression, in promoting new, really democratic international relations. The socialist states' close cooperation with these states is of great significance in international life. (. . .) (48)

(. . .) We believe it is necessary that in a spirit of close cooperation, for the establishment of a new international economic order, which should secure an equitable collabora-

tion among states, a more rapid progress of each and every people, particularly of those lagging behind and their broad access to the gains of modern science and technology.

The complex problems of the present-day international life require for their solving the active and fully equal participation of all states, irrespective of their size or social system, particularly of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned nations, which are directly interested in the instauration of a climate of understanding and equitable cooperation. (. . .) (49)

(. . .) The setting up of the Institute for a New Economic Order, in the present-day circumstances, when scorces of peoples are concerned with the settlement of some vital problems for the future of mankind, is an extremely important initiative. As it is known, in fact we are only at the beginning of the discussions for the new international economic order. In the present-day world, in which a great part of mankind lives in conditions of underdevelopment and in which a number of negative aspects have appeared in the world economic life, the reorganization and placing of the economic relations among states on a new ground, is decisive both for the economic and social progress of the peoples and for relaxation and peace. I do hope that the starting of your activity as well as the future work would give a strong impulse not only to the research work but also to the preoccupation of finding out and materializing the ways for a new international economic order. And in this direction the starting of discussion with the participation of specialists in various domains — economic, financial and industrial — will play an important part.

The Institute has probably in mind — and I am sure of this — that its activity should pass beyond Europe and comprise all the continents where most of the developing countries are to be found. Considering the fact that the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia are most concerned with the new international economic order, it might be useful to draw them into the discussion of the problems and into the working out of the ways for the building of the new order.

I regard the activity of the Institute as an international tribune in which the representatives of various countries could freely have their say and the Institute should synthesize and help the materialization of the ways for the building

of the new international economic order. The governments will naturally have an important part to play in this respect; but it is equally true that the scientific and research activity can also have a very important role, and it should be a support to the governments, to politicians in their activity.

Therefore, I think that there are real prospects opened up to the Institute for the New International Economic Order, with the seat in Paris, to get an important rôle and carry on an extremely ample activity on a world plane. Considering that the new international economic order implies revolutionary changes in the relations among states and in the outlook about these relations, the institute itself must promote the approach of some international economic questions.

I can't help wishing ever greater successes in this extremely important activity and express my confidence that the institute will enjoy the appreciation and support of more and more specialists as well as of an ever larger number of politicians.

Mr. President Frondizi is perfectly right when saying that the problem of the new international economic order concerns all developing countries, whatever their social system, that in carrying out the objectives of economic and social progress, one must start from the intensification of the efforts of each nation, of each people, from the re-organization of the economy on the basis of the latest gains of contemporary science and technique. (. . .) (50)

2. ERADICATION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT — A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER SHOULD SECURE THE FASTER PROGRESS OF THE POORLY DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE PROGRESS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

(. . .) One of the most stringent problems of contemporary world, which should be given proper solution, in the framework of the organization of world economic relations, is the liquidation of underdevelopment. The economic gaps

— which appeared as an outcome of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of exploiting the national riches of other peoples — hinder the general economic progress and represent a factor leading to a narrowed world market, to economic crisis, diminishing, in the final analysis, the development possibilities of the economically advanced states themselves. That is why, the liquidation of underdevelopment, the approximation and equalization of the development levels of the states are a necessity of paramount importance for ensuring general progress. (...) (51)

(...) As you know, mankind is confronted with the serious problem of underdevelopment, with the fact that the world continues to be divided into developed or rich countries and underdeveloped or poor ones. It is obvious that the achievement of a better and more righteous world is directly connected to the liquidation of this state of things — a result of the old policy of domination of the colonialist policy. (...) (52)

(...) There are also serious problems in connection with the question of underdevelopment, of the necessity of establishing a new international economic and political order, which should ensure the rapid progress of the lagging countries, the general development on a new basis of the world economy, the liquidation of the old relations of inequality and oppression. (...) (53)

(...) An extremely keen problem of international life is underdevelopment, the world's division into rich and poor countries — a result of the old imperialist, colonial and neo-colonial policy.

Bridging the gaps between states, imposes the entrenchment of a new international economic and political order, that should lead to some really equitable relations among countries, to the observance of each people's right to be full master of its national wealth, to securing the unhampered access of each nation to the gains of contemporary science and technology. (...) (54)

(...) The peoples are also highly interested in the definitive elimination from the contemporary life, of the policy

of domination and oppression, in the strict observance of the right of each and every nation to be master of its own riches and to organize its life in keeping with its own interests and aspirations, without any outside intervention.

I have also in view the necessity for the settlement of the thorny problems generated by the fact that a greater part of mankind still lives in state of underdevelopment, for the elimination of the great discrepancies among the development levels of various peoples, the imperative necessity of building a new international economic order, based on equality and mutual respect. (. . .) (55)

(. . .) In Romania's view a fundamental problem of the world today is the intensification of the efforts for the elimination of underdevelopment and of the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries resulting from the long-lasting imperialist policy of colonial domination. (. . .) (56)

(. . .) One of the fundamental questions of contemporary life is the eradication of underdevelopment, the bridging of the wide economic gaps between states, brought about by the prolonged imperialist, colonialist policy, which led to the division of the world into rich and poor countries. The carrying out of this objective requires that consistent steps be taken by each and every state, for the setting up of a new world economic order, which should guarantee the development of international cooperation on the basis of full equality, observance of the right of each people to be master of its natural resources, broad access of the countries lagging behind to the gains of advanced science and technology, a more efficient backing of their efforts aimed at stepping up their economic and social progress. (. . .) (57)

(. . .) As inferable from the report delivered on the international activity of our Party and State, we have always paid special attention to the problems pertaining to eradicating underdevelopment, strengthening the collaboration with the states in the group of the developing countries and with the non-aligned states.

We work most firmly for the building of the new international economic order which should open the path of a

faster progress to the lagging countries, provide conditions for raising the living standard, materially and spiritually, of those peoples, contribute to the settlement, on a new, democratic basis, of the complex economic problems of present-day world, ensure the economic stability and growth of all nations. (. . .) (58)

(. . .) A developing socialist country ourselves, we campaign most resolutely for the abolition of underdevelopment, of the world's division into poor and rich countries, for the building of a new world economic order ensuring the faster progress of the lagging countries.

We consider that everything has to be done for the promotion of a genuinely new policy, founded on equality and respect among states, favouring broad international cooperation, the access of all peoples to the gains of modern science, to the blessings of contemporary civilization. We are aware that without abolishing underdevelopment, without building a new international economic order one cannot speak of the settlement of the serious economic problems in the world today, of stability, of progress generally. The very cause of peace is linked to the liquidation of underdevelopment, to the promotion of economic relations based on the new international economic order. (. . .) (59)

(. . .) I think that practically all the peoples have the prospect and possibility to transcend the stage of a developing country. Of course, some of them can achieve this within a shorter time; others need a longer period. I am referring not only to the economic problems but to their entire social development. Of course I could hardly make prognostications on the Latin-American countries but I think that Mexico, for example, has fine prospects, in this respect. Similar prospects are shared by Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, practically by all the countries of Latin America. These countries are ranging over important national riches, they already have a certain economic foundation as well as their own foundation of education and culture, of science. The respective peoples are inspirited with the will to be masters over their national riches, to make sure of their independent social-economic progress, which is a particularly important factor in doing away with underdevelopment and in secur-

ing social-economic progress. The same prospects are shared by the developing countries from Africa, from Asia. On condition they pool together their efforts, strengthen their solidarity with a view to overcome the numberless difficulties, they will come up against, along this path. (. . .)

(. . .) It is common knowledge that underdevelopment is the result of social-historical evolution, in which a major role was played by the imperialist, colonialist policy, of domination and oppression of other peoples, by inequitable economic relations. Consequently, the first target of the new international economic order should consist in doing away with these anachronical states of things. The imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of oppressing other peoples, under various forms, the relations of inequity in the economic field must be put an end to. We are supposed to set the relationships among states upon the principles of fully equal rights, of the observance of independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, of the peoples right to be masters of their own national riches, and to develop independently, in accordance with their own will.

This likewise implies the promotion of the principles of equity and mutual advantage, in economic relations and exchanges, a correct ratio between the prices of the raw materials and those of the industrial products, the achievement of a truly equitable international trade. (. . .) (60)

(. . .) An imperative of our epoch consists in doing away with the condition of underdevelopment, a large part of mankind continues to stay in, as a consequence of the colonialist, imperialist policy, which led to the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries. That is why, we are acting, with utmost energy, for the entrenchment of a new international economic order, able to secure an equitable cooperation among nations, the access of all the lagging states to modern science and technology, the creation of the conditions for their more rapid economic and social progress.

Romania is acting with a view to having colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as any other policy of domination and oppression of other peoples done away with, completely. In this respect, we are providing our full support to the national liberation movements, to the fight of the peoples from Rhodesia and Namibia, from South Africa, against racial and

apartheid policy, to conquer the right to a free, independent development.

Mankind is vitally interested in the promotion of a policy of international peace and security. That is why we are supposed to do our utmost so as to make sure of the initiation of disarmament and in the first place, of nuclear disarmament. (...) (61)

(...) A fundamental task of our epoch consists in doing away with underdevelopment, with the big economic gaps among states, which appeared as a consequence of imperialist policy, of colonialism. That is why, we are actively militating for the entrenchment of a new international order, based upon genuine relations of equity, apt to facilitate the free access of all the peoples to the gains of science and technology, to secure a faster progress of the lagging peoples, a raising of their material and cultural welfare. (...) (62)

(...) When speaking of the new economic order, we consider first the problem of liquidating underdevelopment, the division of the world into poor and rich countries. Obviously progress cannot be achieved if this condition is maintained. By new international economic order we understand the creation of conditions for the liquidation of underdevelopment, the ensuring of a fair ratio of the prices of raw materials to those of industrial goods and farm-food produce, that should allow for the equilibrium and stability in the development of all states. (...) (63)

(...) Romania is firmly pronouncing for the solving of the legal problems of liquidating underdevelopment — which is a result of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy — for the establishing of a new international economic order, based on full equality of rights, on equitable relations in the economic collaboration, meant to ensure the quick progress of the poorly developed countries. This new economic order must also open the prospects for the economic and social progress of all countries, ensure the welfare and happiness of all peoples.

We must do everything so that the conquests of science, of human knowledge be put in the service of mankind's progress, of every nation's progress, so that they do not serve

destruction, but the welfare and happiness of the whole mankind.

In solving the complex problems of the international life the active participation of all states, either big or small, irrespective of their social order, is imposed. Certainly we pay great attention to the small and middle-sized countries, to the developing countries, to the non-aligned countries, which must actively participate in solving the international problems. (. . .) (64)

(. . .) We declare ourselves for giving an active assistance to underdeveloped countries, to the establishment of a new international order which should ensure rapid progress of those countries, create conditions for a harmonious growth of the economy of all states, for collaboration grounded on full equality of all nations. (. . .) (65)

(. . .) We firmly militate for doing away with underdevelopment, for building the new international economic order — which should secure a much more rapid progress of the countries lagging behind — so as to put an end, for good an all, to the old imperialist, colonial and neo-colonial policy, in view of securing the achievement of a more just and better world on our planet. (. . .) (66)

(. . .) It is only in this way that a lasting collaboration based on equal rights among nations can really be ensured. In this respect, we firmly declare for a new international economic and political order, for the active participation of all states in the settlement of the complex problems which preoccupy mankind today. We start out from the fact that the present economic problems, the economic and financial crisis, the problem of raw materials and energy, the problems of inflation can only be settled through the laying on new bases of the relations among states, through the creation of a correct, equitable ratio between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial products, through a more rational use of the natural resources which should ensure the progress of every people. It is only in this context that mankind will be able to overcome difficulties and solve the complex problems of the present economic situation, to ensure the general progress. (. . .) (67)

3. AN ESSENTIAL PROCESS FOR ENSURING THE STABILITY OF THE WORLD ECONOMY, FOR THE ADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LIFE

(. . .) The economic stability, the general progress of all nations including the developed ones are directly conditioned by the liquidation of underdevelopment, by the realisation of a new economic order. This presupposes the abolishment of the old relations of inequity, the relative equalization of the development of all nations, an appropriate ratio between the prices of raw materials and the price of industrial products, the acces of all nations to modern technologies, the creation of a more equitable, more just world. (. . .) (68)

(. . .) In this spirit, it is necessary to completely remove the old rules and principles which governed in the past the relations between states and which led to the division of mankind into oppressors and oppressed, into rich and poor. The settlement of the complex problems of present-day international economic life, the liquidation of the serious phenomena of crisis, the solution of the raw materials problem, of the energy crisis, of world economic instability most categorically demand the building of a new international economic and political order, of new, equitable relations between states. (. . .) (69)

(. . .) An imperative demand of world economic development is to prevent the inflationist phenomena which seriously disturb production and trade, and affect first of all the living standard of the people's mass. The adverse consequences of the world economic crisis phenomena on the peoples have to be avoided both by a just policy consistently guided by each government and by a harmonious cooperation of the states along this line. (. . .) (70)

(. . .) Without ensuring a rapid development of the countries lagging behind, we cannot speak about economic stability, of a rapid progress of mankind, in general, and of a real peace policy. Moreover, the new economic order means

exactly the solving of these vital problems for the development of the whole mankind. (. . .) (71)

(. . .) We consider that a harmonious development of all nations is an essential factor for the international economic stability, for the prosperity of each people, for the welfare and peace of the whole mankind. (. . .) (72)

(. . .) We opine that a settlement to the complex questions of the future economic development and removal of the instability phenomena from world economy just as of the inflationist processes are closely related to the establishment of a new international economic order and at the same time, to stepped up measures for a better planning and conduct of the economic processes which should prevent catastrophic crises. (. . . (73)

(. . .) In order to build the new economic order, new principles of relations should be drawn up and naturally the developed countries should understand that they must take into account the poorest countries, that in the last analysis, their very development is tied up with the elimination of underdevelopment. As a matter of fact, the economic crisis of the last few years strongly revealed that the future of the industrialized, advanced countries is directly connected with that of the developing countries. (. . .) (74)

(. . .) The establishment of the new economic order equally concerns all countries and peoples, the developed, the poorly developed and the developing ones, since it is designed to ensure stability and an harmonious and balanced development of the whole world economy; that is why all states should participate in building it. (. . .) (75)

(. . .) As I have mentioned before, we stand for a new economic order, which should place relations among all states on new principles, of equality and equity, ensure the access of the less developed and developing countries to modern technologies, create conditions for a balanced development of various areas in the world, of the entire world economy, for international economic stability. This accords with the aspirations of the great majority of the peoples, with the cause of world peace and progress. (. . .) (76)

4. A PREREQUISITE FOR WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

(. . .) It should be clear that a genuine policy of peace, of international collaboration cannot be realized as long as an end is not put to underdevelopment and the raising of all nations' living standard, genuine inter-state equality are not ensured. (. . .) (77)

(. . .) As long as the phenomenon of underdevelopment persists, as also the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, genuine international détente, the peace and security of the peoples cannot be ensured. Romania firmly speaks up for the establishment of a new economic and political order which should facilitate and guarantee development to all countries, fast progress to the developing countries in particular, should secure each nation the possibility to benefit freely by the gains of science and culture, of contemporary civilization. (. . .) (78)

(. . .) It should be well understood that as long as the world's division into poor and rich countries is not done away with, as long as there is a small number of developed, rich countries at one pole, and the big majority of the poor, under-developed states, at the other one, it is rather difficult to speak of real détente, of a real policy of peace. Therefore, the achievement of a new international economic order is closely linked to the general policy of détente and peace the world over. (. . .) (79)

(. . .) The ensuring of peace is closely linked to the intensification of the peoples' efforts for the extinction of the hotbeds of tension and conflict still prevailing on various meridians of the Planet, for the political, peaceful settlement of all inter-state disputes. The cause of ensuring peace also calls for everything to be done for the complete abolition of the colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, of any forms of domination and oppression, for the liquidation of underdevelopment, of the big gaps between the development levels of the states, for the establishment of a new international economic and political order, based on equality and equity, that should

favour a faster progress of all countries, and first of all of the lagging countries, ensure the broad access of each people to the gains of modern science and technique. (. . .) (80)

(. . .) It is more and more obvious that no real peace, no détente and cooperation are possible, unless the world ceases to be divided into poor or underdeveloped and rich or developed states. (. . .) (81)

(. . .) The perpetuation of underdevelopment has thoroughly negative effects on the whole of mankind's economic and social evolution, on all the people's progress and civilization, on general peace. That is why we can say that the existence of a group of rich, powerfully developed countries on the one hand, of needy, poorly developed countries on the other hand, is a fundamental issue of our days; the accumulation at one pole of huge riches and the aggravation at the other of poverty and misery cannot go on infinitely! Just as on a national plane exploitation and oppression, the gathering of wealth in the hands of one class lead to sharpening social contradictions, to an intensified fight of the dominated and exploited and, objectively, to the abolition of these relations and the building of a juster system —, on an international plane, too, inequality and oppression are eventually leading to a sharpening of the contradictions between states and serious conflicts between them. In order to avoid clashes, which may become violent, the old inter-state relations should be replaced by a new policy, of fully equal rights for all the states of the world. This is a law of social development — both on a national and international plane —, a process brought about by the very dialectics of social and historical development. (. . .) (82)

(. . .) A question of vital significance of the world today is the liquidation of underdevelopment, of the division of the world into rich and poor countries — outcome of long imperialist, colonialist exploitation — and the building of a new international economic order. This is today a sine qua non for the realisation of a genuine security and establishment of a lasting peace on our Planet. Setting out from the considerations extensively outlined in the document "Romania's Stand on the Establishment of a New International

Economic Order" submitted to the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, our country has militated and tirelessly militates for the establishment of new relations of full equality among states which should permit the access of the developing countries to the gains of modern science and technology, to the blessings of contemporary civilization, which should create conditions for the progress of all states, of the lagging ones in particular. (. . .) (83)

III

The Revolutionary Significance of the Efforts for Building the New International Economic Order

(. . .) One has to set out from the fact that the new order does not mean replacing the old wrapping by a new one, even if it is of gold. Only a change of wrapping will not solve the problem; on the contrary, it will further worsen the present situation, deepen the economic crisis and increase instability and the general crisis of capitalism with all their effects on international collaboration and peace. (. . .) (84)

(. . .) There are also problems referring to the establishment of equitable relations among states, to the removal of inequality, of oppression. That is why the new economic order really implies the revolution in the relations among states, it implies an end to the domination, under any form, of some countries over others, the establishment of relations of equality, respect, mutual aid, mutual advantage, it also entails the ensurance of the access, in advantageous conditions, to technologies and to the gains of science. (. . .) (85)

(. . .) The elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order are the natural continuation of the struggle for the abolition of all the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the final elimination of the imperialist policy from the world and we shall therefore work with all our forces for the fulfilment of this urgent target of our times. We must be fully aware that the progress of the less developed countries as well as the stability of world economy, the progress of all states, including that of the developed states are conditioned today by the engineering of a new international economic order,

by a new policy of equality and economic collaboration. (...) (86)

(...) It might be argued that the struggle for eliminating relationships of inequality and oppression, for a new economic and political order expresses the confrontation between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the rich and the poor in the world arena, in fact the confrontation mirrors the class struggle on an international scale. The new economic order should be considered in the context of the existence of groups of countries with differing social systems in the world — this is an historical reality that will last for a long time to come. In this light, to set up new relationships which should be equitable is the very expression of implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is incumbent upon us to be fully aware that eliminating underdevelopment and building a new economic order is an objective necessity of the progressive development of mankind, it is one of the most burning imperatives of our times. (...) (87)

(...) The Romanian Communist Party and Socialist Romania evince their full solidarity with the struggle of the developing countries considering that finding suitable solutions to their rapid economic and social progress, for the establishment of fair relations among all states are imperative requirements of our days. Actually, we may say that the struggle for the liquidation of underdevelopment and of the economic and political inequities existing in international life is now an expression of the class struggle at world level. In fact, without achieving a rapid progress of the underdeveloped countries, without doing away with the gaps and with the inequality among states, with famine and destitution, to which a large part of the world population is subject, without building a new international economic order, based on equity, one can hardly speak of lasting peace on our Planet. (...) (88)

(...) Still and strongly manifest is the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the subjugated countries,

and now between imperialism and the developing countries which are an expression of the class struggle in the world arena. In fact, the very economic crisis at present — which is witnessing great scope and becomes complicated in some countries — is an expression of these contradictions manifest both internationally and nationally. Growing scope is gained by the contradictions between the imperialist policy of domination and dictate and the policy of the developing countries. (. . .) (89)

IV

Establishment of the New International Economic Order – the Outcome of the Understanding and Cooperation of All States

(. . .) Undoubtedly, the setting up of a new economic order, a major target of our days, must be the fruit of understanding and cooperation among all states both advanced and developing ones, and in this respect, I consider that the socialist countries can play a role of greater importance. This is a common cause of all peoples, of the entire human community, an essential factor in accomplishing the stability and harmonius development of the world economy. (. . .) (90)

(. . .) At the same time, we consider that greater effort is needed from the whole international community in view of eradicating underdevelopment and the world's division into rich and poor countries, of real steps in the realm of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, of building a new world economic and political order, a fundamental prerequisite for securing stability and peace in the world. (. . .) (91)

(. . .) Romania considers that under the present conditions, when great national and social revolutionary changes, deep mutations in the international balance of forces are taking place in the world, it is a lofty duty of all the states, of all the peoples to rally their efforts still more, to cooperate ever more actively based on full equality and understanding, in order to ensure the constructive settlement of all the problems on which the progress and peace of contemporary mankind depend. (. . .) (92)

(. . .) The serious phenomena of economic and financial crisis we witness at present pregnantly highlight that the big issues of the contemporary world, by their nature and character, can no longer be debated and settled within a narrow,

limited framework, but imperiously call for a continuous dialogue and active cooperation among all the states, irrespective of size, development level, geographic position or socio-economic system, for the consideration of every country's interests. (. . .) (93)

(. . .) This presupposes a sustained preoccupation on the part of those peoples for their own economic and social development, but also close cooperation with other states, including the more advanced countries, based on fully equal rights and equitable relations. (. . .) (94)

(. . .) Closely cooperating among them, the European peoples can and must act more firmly for the expansion of collaboration with the developing countries, for the abolition of the old policy of inequity which has resulted in the division of the world into rich and poor countries, for the establishment of a new international economic order securing the harmonious progress to every nation, the relative equalization of the development levels, international economic stability, welfare and peace to each people. (. . .) (95)

(. . .) The questions are complex, indeed. They have been synthesised by the developing countries with the aspiration for building a new international economic order. The concept on this new economic order has in view first the liquidation of the policy of inequity, of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy that has generated in certain historical conditions the negative phenomena I have referred to before, the reality of underdevelopment. Resolute actions are needed from all states, from international public opinion for the achievement of the new economic order, for the promotion of equitable relations, of a policy of rapid development of the lagging countries, of relative evening up of development levels of the nations, of economic and social progress of all peoples. (. . .) (96)

(. . .) We undoubtedly desire to establish the new economic order by an understanding among all states, by a more active support of the developed countries, which have also a moral obligation to contribute to the abolition of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new economic order. (. . .) (97)

(. . .) I envisage the new economic order not as two opposing groupings of states but as a form of a new cooperation between the developing countries and the developed countries, able to secure a more rapid progress of the lagging countries and simultaneously the stability of world economy, and, consequently, the further development of the advanced countries as well. In this way, each nation will actually be able to fully enjoy the gains of civilization. Of course, here we include the socialist countries as well, in relation to their individual condition, for there are both developed socialist countries and developing socialist countries. I hold the view that the socialist countries can and must play a more active role in the building of the new economic order. (. . .) (98)

V

The Internal and International Factor in the Efforts for the Liquidation of Underdevelopment, for Bridging up the Gaps. The Decisive Role of the Efforts Made by the Peoples Themselves, the Need for International Support

(. . .) An imperative demand of progress of present-day mankind is the liquidation of the phenomenon of underdevelopment. This must, above all, be the fruit of every people's own efforts; of essential importance is also the promotion of equitable international collaboration with these countries, as also the support of the developed countries for speeding up progress of the productive forces in the lagging states, facilitating their unlimited access to the gains of modern science and technique. (. . .) (99)

(. . .) Of course, the acceleration of the process of industrialization, of economic and social progress of the underdeveloped and developing countries should be based first of all on the own efforts of every people for the best turning to account of its country's national riches. We know from our own experience that what is essential to every developing country is to channel its efforts and use its resources for the development of industry and agriculture, as well as of the other branches of economy, to ensure to this end the skilled cadres it needs.

Concomitantly, we consider necessary that the powerfully industrialized states, too, should substantially augment the means in support of the industrialization process of the developing countries should grant them preferential treatment in all economic domains, encourage and participate, through cooperation, in the carrying through of those countries' economic development programmes. (. . .) (100)

(. . .) We consider that simultaneously with these peoples' own efforts for industrialization, for the turning to good account of national resources, advanced states are in duty bound to contribute to the fulfilment of the programme for

the acceleration of the multilateral social and economic progress of the developing countries. (. . .) (101)

(. . .) Romania has never underestimated the importance of the international collaboration. It has an important part, but without the own efforts of each people one cannot imagine an economic and social progress. That is why we earmark quite a high percentage from the national revenue — this year*, 35 per cent — for development. (. . .) (102)

(. . .) Undoubtedly, the rapid economic and social progress of each people, the liquidation of lagging behind the developed states is above all the task of the underdeveloped countries themselves. This implies the intensification of their own efforts for the maximum turning into account of their own means and resources, the joining of all the people's forces with a view to developing the technical and material basis of society, to creating a modern industry, to a high-rate harmonious development of the whole economy. Besides the intensification of their own efforts, a role of utmost importance for the speeding up of the progress of the underdeveloped and developing countries is played by the expansion of international collaboration based on equity and mutual advantage, on multilateral support. International collaboration must contribute to the creation in these countries of their own industry, to a higher turning into account of their natural resources and labour, so that they may take an active part, on an equal footing, in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of assets. (. . .) (103)

(. . .) Undoubtedly, in bridging the big gaps among states, an outstanding role is played by the peoples of the developing countries themselves which should mobilize their forces and should ensure the use of all their means and material and human resources. But parallel with this, of greatest significance is also the establishment of a new economic order which should warrant the promotion of an equitable international collaboration, the observance of the right of each people to be the master of its national riches and destiny, should ensure conditions for the ever more rapid economic and social progress of lagging peoples. (. . .) (104)

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(. . .) There is no doubt that the advancement of world science and technique imposes as a necessity economic collaboration and cooperation among states. One cannot conceive a policy of isolation of any state, no matter which it might be; this collaboration and cooperation in production has to set out, however, from the new principles, from mutual advantage, has to be founded on economic and political equity, on the work and skill of each people. Only on this basis can a number of contradictions — which are sharpening at the moment — be removed, contradictions which could generate very serious phenomena. (. . .) (105)

(. . .) The safe way to the economic and social progress of the new states, to safeguarding and strengthening independence is primarly — as life itself has shown — the intensification of their own efforts, the mobilization of their entire material and human potential, the concentration and the union of all the progressive forces of the nation. (. . .) (106)

(. . .) Romania's experience and that of other developing countries demonstrates that, if efforts are not made for the advancement of the economy, the respective states lag behind and consequently the living standard of the people worsens. I think that you well know the present anxiety linked precisely to the widening of the gap between the developed and developing countries, to the worsening of the living conditions of the peoples in the lagging areas. Of course, if the principles of socialist ethics and equity were to operate on a world scale too, then a better distribution of incomes should have to be made internationally too, and hence the developed countries ought to give a somewhat greater support to the developing countries for faster raising their development level. But, unfortunately, these principles do not yet operate on an international level. As far as we are concerned, we shall make efforts to ensure our own development. We shall strengthen cooperation with the socialist countries, with developing ones, the same as with the other states, the developed countries included, because we consider that only in this way can we secure to our people a dignified place in the world and a civilized life. (. . .) (107)

VI

National Economy — the Basic Factor of Economic Progress

1. NATION AND SOVEREIGNTY — THE MOTIVE POWERS OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD

(. . .) *The people's national liberation movement against colonial domination, the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism waged by the States that have recently achieved independence and proceed along the road of economic and social progress and of consolidation of their national sovereignty also exert a growing influence on world social development, on international life as a whole.* These peoples rise against economic and political domination, against the imperialist circles' tendencies of hegemony, for the independent development of every nation, without outside interference, in compliance with the legitimate will and aspirations of the mass.

An important motive power of social and political development in the contemporary world is the nation, which is destined to still play a particularly important part in the history of human society, for a long period ahead. The picture of the contemporary world comprises nations at different stages of development, as well as peoples that are still fighting for the cementing of the nations for their independent assertion in international political life. (. . .)

(. . .) The robbing of their national riches by the imperialist powers has prevented these peoples from developing their productive forces, their industry, agriculture, science, from securing high spiritual and material living standards, while in advanced capitalist countries the national wealth has continuously increased; this severe social and economic gap continues to widen even nowadays. Life has shown that

imperialism, the capitalist system is unable to ensure the rapid social and economic progress of underdeveloped countries. At present the fundamental objective of scores of peoples that have recently won their national independence is their self-standing social, political and economic development. *The surest way to achieve this basic desideratum lies above all in the intensification of their own efforts, in the mobilization of their entire human and material potential, in the concentration and unification of all the advanced, progressive forces of every nation.* The consolidation of national independence, the access of these peoples to the gains of modern civilization cannot be imagined otherwise.

Owing to the insufficient economic development of these countries, the progress-promoting social forces and in the first place the working class are still weak both in terms of number and organization; in some places they have just started the process of formation. Moreover, in many areas of the world, colonial rule has left behind a number of unsettled problems which the imperialist circles try to use in order to divide and weaken the young independent States, in order to sow discord among them and to prevent these young nations from uniting in their fight against imperialism and foreign domination. *The liquidation of any form of imperialist domination and the independent development of these peoples require the strengthening of unity and solidarity between them and call for their many-sided mutual assistance.*

The communist parties, the advanced revolutionary forces play an important part in the struggle for the democratic, progressive development of the young independent States. That is why the refusal of some leading circles to cooperate with the communists or with other revolutionary forces weakens the fighting capacity of these peoples and prejudices the fulfilment of their aspirations for progress and a better life. *The pooling of the efforts made by the progressive parties and forces is an essential prerequisite for the advance of these countries along the road of progress, of their independent development.* An important part in the speeding up of their advance can be played by the technical, scientific and economic assistance granted by advanced countries, based on the observance of the principle of national sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs. *In their efforts for progress, against imperialist domination, these countries find import-*

ant support in the manifold cooperation with the countries of the world socialist system. (. . .) (108)

(. . .) One of the problems which highly preoccupy scores and scores of peoples of the world today is that of the liquidation of underdevelopment. There are really scores of states which have won their political independence, but which still have a weak economy, and that is why they can be — and unfortunately sometimes they are — easy victims of neo-colonialism. We must openly declare that Romania — which is also intensely preoccupied by her economic development — knows that the real national independence, the real free life can be fully achieved only with the building of a strong, independent economy. That is why Romania resolutely declares for decisive measures which should help the developing countries. (. . .) (109)

(. . .) In this connection, an important rôle is played first of all by the development of cooperation and unity of the national political, progressive forces of each state. Only to the extent to which within each state the progressive force will be united and will resolutely act for the independent economic and social development of the respective countries will the necessary internal force be created for ensuring national independence and sovereignty.

Secondly, it is necessary to develop an active collaboration and cooperation between the states that speak up for independent development, between all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces. They must support each other for the economic and social development of the individual states and not admit any kind of interference in their internal affairs. By acting in this way, the most adequate premises are actually created for ensuring the genuine independence and sovereignty of each state and for the advancement of the respective people on the road of progress and welfare. (. . .)

(. . .) At the same time, one must bear in mind that a steadily growing number of small and medium-sized countries are manifesting themselves more and more actively in international life, in the first place by a policy of taking into their own hands the national wealth, by accentuating the policy of independent development and of defending their sovereignty. The small and medium-sized countries are aware that only by actively participating in international life can

they have the guarantee that the major problems of the world will be solved by taking into account their interests too. (...) (110)

(...) I must say that the events of the last years demonstrate that if these peoples are conscious of their mission and are ready to assure their independence and sovereignty, then no force in the world can defeat them. We may say that the time when the peoples could be easily subdued has come to an end. I do not want to give examples but we consider that if the peoples are decided to assure a new international policy — and, in my opinion this wish asserts itself more and more — then we can really be optimistic; certainly we must not think that the way towards this new world will be an easy one; some obstacles will have to be overcome but we must behave in such a way as to unite the efforts of the peoples in order to overcome any obstacles. Only in this way the peoples will be able to assure a respectable, free, independent life. As far as the Romanian people is concerned, it is decided to do everything in this respect. (...) (111)

(...) We know from the experience of the Romanian people that economic and social development demands the efforts of the entire people, it asks for the unity of all forces and depends, first and foremost, on the work of each and every country to lead a dignified, free and independent life. (...) (112)

(...) We know from our own experience that the building of a new life is not possible without efforts and sacrifices, that certain difficulties too might appear in this complex work; we also know, however, that any obstacles can be removed by uniting all advanced and progressive forces of the country. There is no doubt that the achievements recorded by the people of your country in the economic and social domains are favourable prerequisites for the further consolidation of national independence and sovereignty. (...) (113)

(...) Romania's present achievements are the fruit of the whole people's efforts. We started from a quite low development level. There is still much to be done to complete the multilaterally developed socialist society, able to fully ensure the solving of all problems. All we have achieved demonstrates that when a people is the master of its destines, it is able to

solve any problem; when a people decides upon living in freedom, upon liquidating any kind of oppression it can achieve all this. Of course the solidarity and unity of all the progressive forces in each country are necessary. (. . .)

(. . .) The Romanian people knows all this from its own practice as by acting closely united was able to score such results on the path of its economic and social development. (. . .) (114)

(. . .) The premise for the liquidation of underdevelopment is the securing of the national liberty and independence of each state, respect for the right of each nation to use its riches in the interest of its own progress. (. . .) (115)

(. . .) On a world plane, powerful social forces, peoples, continents, in fact the whole of mankind are on the move. The peoples are ever more energetically asserting their will to be full masters of their national riches and use these in concordance with the demands of their economic and social development, with the interests of their international cooperation. (. . .) (116)

(. . .) The successes obtained by the Romanian people in economic and social development and in building the socialist system are yet another proof of the fact that when a people is master of its destinies and acts for the use of national riches in the interest of independent development, it can liquidate in a short lapse of time the state of backwardness and make rapid progress in all fields of activity. (. . .) (117)

(. . .) The new international economic order concerns all developing countries, whatever their social system, (. . .) in carrying out the objectives of economic and social progress, one must start from the intensification of the efforts of each nation, of each people, from the re-organization of the economy on the basis of the latest gains of contemporary science and technique. Romania has never underestimated the importance of the international collaboration. It has an important part, but without the own efforts of each people one cannot imagine an economic and social progress. (. . .) (118)

(. . .) We live in an epoch of deep-going social and national transformations, an epoch in which the developments, the

will of the peoples to develop free and independent on the path of progress urge more and more imperatively the complete abolition from international life of every practice of the old policy of inequality and oppression which divided the world into poor and rich countries, firm action for the liquidation of the state of underdevelopment in which a large part of mankind is in due to this policy, a start in promoting new, genuinely democratic relations, a new international economic and political order founded on equality and equity, which should remove every kind of discrimination, barrier or limits in the circulation of material and scientific assets, ensure the broad and limitless access of all peoples, of the lagging ones in particular, to the gains of the technical and scientific revolution, to the blessings of modern civilization. (. . .) (119)

(. . .) In the world today, where the peoples' will to live in freedom is asserting itself ever more vigorously, where new independent states are powerfully manifesting themselves in the world arena, the problem of each and every nation's autonomy and independence, the sovereign right of every people to be the master in its own country are an objective law of the social-historical development itself. It is on the observance of this desideratum and the attainment of this target that the very possibility of promoting a new policy in international life depends. That is why clear-cut and correct understanding of the concept of independence and sovereignty is necessary, as well as the promotion by all states of a policy in harmony with these objective demands of contemporary progress. In all circumstances one should set out from the truth that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and the same for all states regardless of their size or social system, that it can only be conceived in one sense and can in no case be applied or interpreted in different ways with regard to one country or another. We consider that a lofty historic responsibility devolves on the socialist countries in the fight for the promotion of these principles in world affairs, in the achievement, both among them and internationally, of new relations of a superior type, of fully equal rights, which should brilliantly materialize the advanced principles of international law, offering all peoples a luminous model and prospects for the future free and equall collaboration among them. (. . .) (120)

(. . .) It is also more and more obvious that the establishment of a new international economic order is necessary which should ensure the broad development of cooperation among states based on equality and mutual advantage, on respect for the right of each people to be full master of its national riches, to freely choose its economic and social development path, without any outside interference, to concentrate all its resources on the speeding up of its advance on the path of progress and civilization. (. . .) (121)

(. . .) Taking this into account, liberty can be conceived as the realization of conditions for the full assertion of the people masses' and citizens' will as regards the economic and social development of each country, the unhampered assertion of advanced concepts and ideas, the participation in elaborating and implementing the fundamental principles of the new social system. I take into consideration the knowledge and mastering of the laws of social development, the need for action to the general interest and in the interest of each citizen, for building a system which should enable the full assertion of man, the promotion of a new humanism grounded on equity and social justice. Internationally, at present, when there are countries with different social systems and when new relations of equity and collaboration on an equal footing must be realized, this would be materialized in the establishment of the new international economic order. Only in this way one could speak of a genuine liberty of nations and peoples. (. . .) (122)

(. . .) Without union, without the proclamation of State independence the very national being and development of the Romanian people, of our nation would not have been possible. All the more so have we to understand this problem today — emphasize the epoch-making importance of this historic moment — as internationally we witness an offensive against the national liberty and independence of the peoples. The fact that in less than 20 years, tens upon tens of peoples have shaken off the yoke of foreign domination and proclaimed themselves indepentent states caused panic and reactivated the imperialist reactionary, cosmopolitan circles. These want to present in a new form the old cosmopolitan, nihilistic theses against national independence, maintaining that the national states would no longer be an historic necessity,

would no longer play a progressive part. It is forgotten that more than 100 states have won their independence in the past 30 years, that hundreds of years have to pass for their consolidation, for them to fully feel the taste of independence, for them to fully manifest and affirm themselves freely and self-dependently. It is therefore obvious that precisely the recognition of national independence and the need for observing it is the most progressive factor of our days, the guarantee of strengthening international solidarity in the struggle against the imperialist policy, for the assertion of new relations of equality among all the nations on our Planet. This is an essential factor for the victory of socialism in other states, as well, for the establishment of the new economic order, for international peace. (. . .) (123)

(. . .) Reactionary forces, wishing to stop the huge revolutionary process of the contemporary world, direct their main attack on the policy of independence and national sovereignty of the peoples. To this end, they are trying to accredit the thesis according to which the nation, national independence are outdated social categories no longer corresponding to the present stage of historic development, that the world has entered the era of super-national companies and organisms. Philosophically and theoretically a vast activity is carried on of convincing the peoples that they should give up independence and sovereignty or at least should give up a major part of these leaving their fate, their future in the hands of super-national organisms which in fact do not represent but a new form of the policy of domination and oppression. In fact the demobilization of the peoples is aimed at, as well as the perpetuation of the policy of interference and exploitation of the national riches of other states, the braking of development and affirmation of socialism and the diminishing of the role of the newly independent states in contemporary life. All these attempts at demobilization, misleading and even intimidation of peoples are doomed to failure. The consequences of the policy of colonial domination are still fresh in the memory of all nations and no matter how much the apologists of neo-colonialism would try, no people will let itself be deceived any more by fine phrases, even if the old "merchandise" is wrapped in a new sometimes even golden wrapping.

We cannot overlook, however, that lately, the role of the nation, the principles of independence and national sovereignty have been underestimated, or even denied, from Marxist-Leninist positions, too. Invoking the Marxist-Leninist conception, proletarian internationalism, some philosophers and theoreticians try to demonstrate that the nation has concluded its historic mission, that in socialism it has no longer any perspective, that the policy of defending national independence is a violation of Marxism-Leninism, a shift towards the positions of bourgeois nationalism, that the assertion of the principles of equality and independence is the main danger in the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle. They maintain, no less no more, that the defence of national independence, the affirmation of independent states are manifestations incompatible with revolutionary internationalism, with the spirit of solidarity in the struggle against domination, for social progress. One cannot help noticing the obvious fact that such reasoning is completely wrong, that it is in complete contradiction with reality, with the generally valid laws and truths, with the all-conquering concept of dialectical and historical materialism, with Marxism-Leninism. (. . .) (124)

(. . .) The problem of renunciation of sovereign rights by the national states or of their reduction cannot, I believe, be posed in the present development stage. The nation still has before it quite a long period of existence. Events even in many states of Europe — not to speak of the countries which have recently won their independence — demonstrate that the peoples want to taste independence and sovereignty to the full, and enjoy liberty from all points of view. (. . .) (125)

(. . .) The Romanian people — which has experienced the effects of foreign oppression and imperialist domination and has made innumerable sacrifices to gain independence and freedom for its homeland — actively supports in a spirit of lofty solidarity the struggle waged by the subjugated peoples for the assertion of their national identity and for the right to be the masters of their destiny. We are militating with the greatest resolution for the observance of the right of the young independent states to shape their lives as they wish, for the strengthening of their economic and political indepen-

dence, for their untrammelled assertion in contemporary international life. (. . .) (126)

(. . .) As we ourselves are supporters of the observance of independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of our country, we also respect the independence, sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of others. We think that the right of each people to decide by itself the way of its socio-economic development must always be observed. Even as regards the building of the socialist society, we think that there is no pattern, that each party must start from the economic, social and historical realities — and only so far as it secures the support of the entire people and builds a more just society for its people, it can really do something good. (. . .) (127)

(. . .) As to the road to be followed by the underdeveloped countries, this depends first of all on the decisions the national revolutionary forces in every country are taking. However, the experience of Romania demonstrates that to be master of the natural riches is a must for any people wishing to do away fast with underdevelopment and to ensure its economic and social progress. (. . .) (128)

(. . .) The Romanian people knows from its own long historical experience that a nation can ensure its genuine independence only to the extent to which it succeeds in laying the foundations of strong and modern economy which should permit it to cooperate in full equality with the other countries and peoples, to ensure it a steadily higher living standard. (. . .) (129)

(. . .) National independence presupposes every people's right to use its own riches for a faster growth of the productive forces and for a higher welfare of the people. Moreover, national independence is closely related to the development of inter-state cooperation and collaboration, to the active participation of all nations in the world exchange of material and spiritual assets. (. . .) (130)

(. . .) It is true that in Latin America we witness a growth, impetuous, I should say, of the fight for independence, for taking the national wealth into one's own hands. It is an

objective historical process which is growing more and more marked. I should say that it will intensify still more in the coming years. The forms the fight waged by the peoples of those states will assume are, of course, dependent also on the domestic reactionary and conservative forces, on the way the latter will try to resort to extremist measures (. . .) to check this process of the society's development, as well as on the extent to which the monopolies in the United States will understand to respect the will of the peoples, and not support the forces opposing this irreversible process. (. . .) (131)

(. . .) As I have already said, underlying our economic and social progress is the socialist ownership of the means of production, which has secured the rallying of all material and human efforts for the rapid development of the economy, culture, science, education — greatly important factors of every country's development.

The situation, of course, differs from one country to another. There are universally valid laws, but they have to be applied adequately in keeping with the concrete conditions in each country. What I might mention and what I consider is of interest for other countries, too, is the fact that in present-day conditions, rapid progress is only possible to the extent to which the people is full master of the national riches and, at the same time, directly participates in the elaboration of the general policy of development. The direct participation of the social forces that are predominant in each country — that is, the workers, peasants and intellectuals — in the governing of the state is an essential factor for securing general progress.

Secondly, I want to stress once more the significant role played by education, science, culture, the training of the necessary cadres of workers and specialists, without which no progress is possible. (. . .) (132)

(. . .) One must constantly proceed from the recognition of the right of each people, whatever its size, to be fully master of its national wealth, to be left to dedicate itself to independent economic and social development without any outside interference. This requires a determined struggle against the imperialist policy of strength and dictate, of colonialism and neo-colonialism, against every type of practice and trend hampering detente in international life. (. . .) (133)

(. . .) At the same time, taking into account the practices existing in the world, one should lay greater stress in international activity on the struggle for the independent economic development of each and every nation, for the consolidation of the national independence of all states. This is all the more necessary as the manifest tendencies for the revision of the zones of influence directly jeopardize the independence and sovereignty of many states. Support to national independence, to an independent economic development of all nations is at present an essential side of the entire international life. We must never think that with the winning of political independence the struggle for national liberation has ended. On the contrary, the struggle for the consolidation of political and economic independence of the new states, for a really equitable collaboration among these countries, for the ever more rapid eradication of underdevelopment is a continuation of the peoples' national liberation struggle. (. . .) (134)

(. . .) One of the problems which especially concern mankind is that of underdevelopment, of the liquidation of the big discrepancies — whose source is the policy and practices of imperialism and colonialism. That is why one must consistently act for the observance of the sacred right of the peoples fully to be masters of their national wealth, for grounding of the international economic relations on new, equitable bases, for the achievement of a righteous ratio between the prices of raw materials and of the industrial products, so that economic exchanges should be mutually advantageous and stimulate the rapid progress of the developing countries. (. . .) (135)

(. . .) As for the observance or defence of the independence of the non-industrialized countries, the possibility that they be masters of the national riches is becoming a reality under the present-day conditions, provided, of course, that the respective countries strengthen their unity on an international plane, develop solidarity among them and, at the same timé, act for the use of the national riches for their economic and social development. (. . .) (136)

(. . .) The liquidation of underdevelopment imposes first, the creation of the necessary conditions so that each develop-

ing country might use all its material and human resources for the acceleration of economic and social progress. (. . .) (137)

(. . .) The building of the new international economic order has to secure to each nation the possibility of using the whole material and human potential for its own progress, without any interference from the outside. Under the conditions of the ever more accentuated inter-dependence among states, it is necessary to establish international economic relations able to lead to the harmonious development of all the national economies. (. . .) (138)

(. . .) We unabatedly work for the achievement of a new world economic and political order, that should enable each people to develop free and unhampered, according to its own will and aspirations, to develop rapidly its productive forces and turn to use to its own benefit its national riches, broadly benefiting under conditions of full equality by the gains of contemporary science and technique. (. . .) (139)

(. . .) Romania resolutely declares for fully equal rights among all nations, for the observance of each people's national independence and sovereignty, of its right to organize its life as it wishes. At the same time, we consider that the progress of each nation, of each people calls for an active participation in the international division of labour, for the development of broad cooperation with other states. That is why Romania pays great heed to expanding her relations with all the socialist countries, with the states working for their independent development, with developed capitalist countries, considering this to be in keeping with the interests of each people, that is, with the interests of the Romanian people too, and the general cause of cooperation and peace.

In this context, the expansion of cooperation, that is of interdependence on a world plane, must not be in our judgement opposed to the policy of independence, on the contrary, these two aspects of every nations's activity form a close unity. The more independently and rapidly a people develops, the more actively it can participate in international cooperation. International cooperation should not restrain the assertion of each nation's and people's personality, but, on the contrary, contribute to it. (. . .) (140)

(. . .) On the basis of this experience, we tell all our friends that they should do everything to be full masters on their national wealth, to build the life they wish to live without any outside interference. We are aware that the building of a new society, the elimination of underdevelopment require big efforts. But they are indispensable for any people which desires to be really free and master on its destiny. (. . .) (141)

(. . .) The developing countries work to be masters of the raw materials, of the national wealth, and the ruling countries which have secured so far for themselves part of the incomes from oppressing and exploiting other peoples are obliged to seek new ways of solving the raw materials issue. When the question arose that the developed capitalist countries should start living on the work of their own peoples and not on account of scores of nations, the crisis phenomena and contradictions also appeared which cannot yet be solved upon the old relations. The peoples do and will no longer admit for the past situation to continue. Some states are, however, not ready to accept reality and to understand that relations must be organised on new principles of equality and mutual advantage, that a new international economic order must be established ensuring the progress of each nation, setting out from the fact that each people has to live by its work, by what it produces, eliminating every kind of oppression of one people by another. (. . .) (142)

2. THE HARMONIOUS, BALANCED AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF ALL ECONOMIC SECTORS — A PREREQUISITE FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

(. . .) No country can actually be independent unless it secures a powerful economy, based on a prosperous industry and agriculture, an advanced science and culture, unless the entire people rallies for the implementation of this programme, and, closely united overcomes any difficulties and determinedly proceeds to the building of a free and independent life. (. . .) (143)

(. . .) These are, obviously, problems tied up with the achievement of a balance in the economic development of

each country, with the proportional development of various branches. One must not overlook that with the industrialization, the constant development of agriculture should also be secured. For many developing countries this is in fact an essential problem because neither the progress of agriculture nor the country's general advance is possible without industrialization. (. . .) (144)

(. . .) No doubt, the filling of the gaps is first of all the task of the underdeveloped countries themselves. This presupposes the maximum harnessing of their own means and resources, the rallying of the people's efforts, energy and creative capability in order to develop the country's productive forces, to build a modern industry and a high-yield agriculture. Economic progress cannot be conceived nowadays in conditions neglecting one or another of these domains, one of the basic branches of material production; the harmonious and well-balanced, high-rate development of all economic compartments is an essential condition of doing away with underdevelopment. (. . .) (145)

(. . .) In the years of socialist construction, the Romanian people — which is master on its national riches and is conciously building its free future — has scored remarkable successes in its socio-economic development. I shall just mention the fact that in 1976 the industrial production was about 33 times bigger than before World War II.

From a country with a weakly developed industry, and also a weakly developed agriculture we have built, through the work of the people, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party — the leading political force — a country with an advanced industry, which has led to the growth of the national income from 80 dollars in 1946 to 1,000 dollars in 1976.

In the first year after Romania's liberation, 35 per cent of the country's citizens were still illiterate. Today we naturally liquidated this inheritance and have introduced compulsory ten-year education for the youth. The entire education is completely free and secures the training of cadres for all fields of activity, for the most complex ones. (. . .) (146)

(. . .) Being convinced that only the building of a strong national economy can ensure both the independence and

well-being of the people, we have joined the efforts of the entire people for creating an industry on modern basis, for a rapid development of agriculture and also of education, science and culture as important factors for the entire socio-economic progress.

In 30 years, Romania's industrial output increased over 33 times. We have greatly developed metallurgy, machine-building, petrochemistry and consumer goods industry, creating conditions for an active participation in the international division of labour, in the exchange of values with other states.

We are permanently concerned, that with the development of the national economy, the material and spiritual living standards of our entire people should also rise. I could say that the results obtained in my country for our socio-economie development once again proves the capability of a people who had become free and master on its riches and destiny, to ensure a rapid development, to build a new and plentiful life. (. . .) (147)

(. . .) It is an undeniable reality that the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism has not finished, that it is strongly expressed by the peoples' fight to become full masters of their national riches to develop self-dependently on the road of economic and social progress. That is precisely why the consolidation of national independence, the building of an own and strong economy, the development of an industry able to broadly fructify the material and human resources, the organization of farm output upon modern bases are of primordial importance for the newly independent states, are essential for securing a genuine independence and sovereignty. (. . .) (148)

3. THE NEED FOR EVERY COUNTRY TO EARMARK FOR DEVELOPMENT AN ADEQUATE SHARE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

(. . .) *The fundamental problem on which the implementation of this policy of economic progress of the country and of prosperity for the masses depend is the correct establishment of the proportion between accumulation and consump-*

tion funds, the harmonious blending of the immediate and long-range aims of society.

The whole history of mankind shows undeniably that the ensurance of a real economic and social progress is inconceivable without achieving some systematic accumulations in order to steadily increase the proportions of production. To achieve a steady rate of investments is an essential prerequisite especially in the contemporary epoch, characterized by the need for rapidly replacing and modernizing the fixed means, by introducing in production the gains of science and technique. At the same time, one must stress that under the conditions of the breath-taking development of the productive forces, of technical-scientific progress, the accumulations are more and more rapidly materialized in the growth of the volume of material goods, in the improvement of the living standards of society. (. . .)

(. . .) As concerns the developing countries, the earmarking of substantial shares from the national income for accumulation is an objective necessity in order to ensure the rapid economic progress. Without it, the narrowing of the gap between these countries and the developed countries and the raising of the people's well being cannot be conceived.

For our country, which has to cover the important distance separating it from other countries, the consistent implementation of an ample programme of investments, the maintenance of a high rate of accumulation are an absolutely vital, first-rate imperative. Such is the decisive prerequisite on which depends the possibility to keep pace with the competition now in progress all over the world in the field of economic and social development, to ensure a rise in the degree of civilization of society, the satisfaction in ever better conditions of material and spiritual requirements of the masses and the building of socialism and communism.

The consumption-first conceptions, disregard of the decisive role of accumulation in social development, run counter to the interests of the uninterrupted progress of our socialist system. The diminishing of accumulations would only narrow the basis for extended reproduction, it would badly tell on the country's economic development, it would bring about a slowing down in the evolution of the national income. All that would eventually have repercussions on consumption, which because of the shortage of economic resources, would increase at an ever slower rate and then come to a halt. *In*

the conditions of the contemporary development of the production forces, neglect of accumulation and of the increase in the national wealth would place Romania at the outskirts of economic and technical-scientific progress.

The policy of allotting a substantial share of the national income for extended reproduction corresponds to the interests of both present and future generations. (. . .) (149)

(. . .) Of course, all this presupposes that each country should assign an important part of the national income to development. Setting out precisely from these considerations, Romania, a socialist, developing country, has earmarked and earmarks an important part of her national income for economic and social progress. The big results scored in the development and modernization of the tehnico-material groundwork of society, in raising the people's living standard, are the fruit of this consistent policy, of the constant efforts deployed by our whole people. (. . .) (150)

(. . .) We have always started from the idea that only a harmonious development of all economic and social compartments, using the latest gains of science and technology can be a basis for the fast progress of the forces of production, of society as a whole.

In consideration of the need to put an end to the economic backwardness of the country so that it should firmly take the road to progress and modern civilization, the Party has been concentrating on an adequate distribution of the national income consumption and developmnt funds, allotting in the last 10—12 years about one third of the national income to the development fund. Life has strongly shown that only on the basis of a high rate of accumulation could the productive forces grow remarkably fast and the standard of living and spiritual level of the entire nation be improved.

It is a simple truth, understandable to any man of good faith that while a developed country can earmark 28 per cent for development, a developing country, as Romania is, has to achieve a much higher rate of accumulation to surmount its backwardness. If our country allotted to development as much as an economically advanced state, it would be doomed to lag behind for ever. International realities show that, in this period in which Romania has made considerable economic and social progress, the underdeveloped and the develop-

ing countries that had not the means or did not allot a substantial part of them to development, far from progressing or from bridging the gap separating them from the developed countries, have remained even more behind them in spite of the "Development Decade". Therefore, both our experience and the world practice and experience entitle us to state that to eradicate underdevelopment, make economic and social progress, rise to a high standard of civilization every nation has no other alternative than rely on its own efforts; no progress can be made otherwise! No country in the world, no people could develop waiting for somebody else to help it; no nation will be able to develop waiting for others to make efforts for it. (. . .)

(. . .) It was the marked increase of the national income that allowed us to earmark every year important funds to raise the working people's income and to effect an over 32 per cent increase of the real incomes under this Five-Year Plan*. The standard of living can be improved only by ensuring a high accumulation rate — the only way guaranteeing the growth of the national wealth, the increase of the national income and, on this basis, the raising of the civilization level, of the welfare of our nation. (. . .) (151)

4. THE IMPERATIVE OF DEVELOPING A MODERN INDUSTRY AND A HIGHLY-PRODUCTIVE AGRICULTURE

(. . .) *Proceeding from the materialist outlook, according to which the decisive factor of social progress, of the flourishing of the national economy and of the raising of the living standard of the population is the sustained development of the productive forces, our Party has channelled all efforts along the country's socialist industrialization.* Of course, the development of industry, the building of new aggregate works, industrial complexes, factories and power stations, their endowment with modern technics have required and continue to require sustained material efforts from the whole people, and the allocation of a big portion of the country's national income. Yet, without the fast development of a modern industry, the liquidation of the lag in our economy, the

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* 1976—1980 (*Publishers' note*)

narrowing down of the gap between us and the developed countries are inconceivable. This truth is all the more valid in the conditions of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution and of the fast progress of present-day science and technics. (. . .)

(. . .) Our experience goes to show the negative effects of insufficient concern for the development of some of the modern branches of industry, such as: electrical engineering, electronics, fine mechanics, machine-tools, for the full turning to account of the reserves of socialist agriculture, for achieving the most rational relation between the production of consumer goods and that of the means of production. The importance of the priority development of the industry of the means of production within the framework of socialist industrialization for the overall development of the economy is well known. At the same time, experience has proved how noxious for multilateral social progress, for the raising of the living standard of the people it can be to uphold as absolute, to fetishize the production of the means of production, heavy industry, while neglecting the consumer goods industry and agriculture. *In the last analysis, the aim of industrialization is that of ensuring the fast development of the means of production with a view to the rapid fitting out and development of all the branches of the national economy on which depends the possibility of meeting the consumer requirements of the population, as well as ensuring the means for extended socialist reproduction for the uninterrupted progress of society.* (. . .)

(. . .) *In the process of socialist construction it is also necessary to take into consideration, especially in countries with suitable natural conditions, such as our country, that agriculture represents one of the most important branches of the national economy; it has a decisive role in the rapid progress of the entire economy, in the raising of the people's living standards.* Any neglect of agriculture, of the development of its technical-material basis can create disproportions, difficulties along the road of the balanced development of the entire economy, of the utilization of the economic potential of the country for the growth of the national income, for the securing of the material and spiritual progress of the people. (. . .) (152)

(. . .) I have already mentioned that industry's rate of growth this year* exceeds 14 per cent. We have followed this line setting out first of all from the fact that building the developed socialist society presupposes a mighty economy, in a position to meet to the full the requirements of all working people. Second, the sustained progress of industry, agriculture, of the whole economy is an essential factor of the country's independent development itself. Third, a mighty development of industry, agriculture, of economy as a whole provides conditions for active participation in the international division of labour, for extensive cooperation with other states. These are the reasons for which we have done so and intend to continue in the future, too, promoting a high-rate growth, of economy as a whole, and of industry in the first place. (. . .) (153)

(. . .) For any country wishing to secure its vigorous economic development, to promote the wellbeing of its people, and consolidate its sovereignty and independence, the building of a powerful industry and an advanced agriculture is an objective necessity. Unless this is achieved, one cannot speak either about progress and wellbeing or about ensuring independence and sovereignty. It is in line with this principle that Romania has attached close attention to the high-rate growth of all sectors of economic activity. (. . .)

(. . .) We started from a very backward stage and we had to overcome many obstacles, those in the technical domain included; for, everything we have achieved in Romania so far is the outcome of the efforts made by people — and those working in the technical field particularly — scientists, specialized staff — had a decisive role to play. Progress is tantamount to advancement in education and its being closely linked with everything that economic and social growth involves. (. . .) (154)

(. . .) We have had, of course, to surmount first of all Romania's past underdevelopment. From an underdeveloped agrarian country, Romania has turned into a state with a strong industry and an agriculture organized upon new bases. Industrial output has in 25 years grown more than 25-fold. The greatest difficulties which had to be surmount-

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* 1973 (*Publishers' note*)

ed were related to a higher level of knowledge, hence to the development of education, science and culture — decisive factors of any progress. Today, the entire youth attend ten-year schooling; higher learning is powerfully developing. Practically, we ensure at home the formation of cadres needed by all spheres of activity.

Thus, in the work and fight for surmounting difficulties and achieving this fast advancement we have taken account of the historical, national and social conditions in our contry, we endeavoured to apply most adequately possible the general laws to the concrete reality of Romania. We have laid stress on industrialization but also on the development of agriculture. As I have already mentioned, we have paid great heed to education, science and culture. We have permanently concerned ourselves with raising, in step with the economic growth, the living standard of all working folk, of our entire people. (. . .) (155)

5. THE SETTING UP OF NATIONAL CENTRES FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. THE TRAINING OF THE CADRES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

(. . .) Education takes on primordial importance in the effort of doing away with the underdevelopment phenomenon — one of the most serious problems facing contemporary mankind. The expansion and modernisation of the learning system, the training of cadres needed for economic and social upbuilding is an essential condition for surmounting the lag generated, in a number of countries, by past relations of colonial domination, for stepping up the forward march of the states that have embarked on the road of free and self-dependent development, for ensuring their material and social progress. Hence, it is necessary that support for the countries of the third world — as they are commonly called — in their effort to organize university learning on a new basis, be a major concern of all nations and in the first place of the economically and culturally developed countries of Europe and of the whole world.

Of special significance in our epoch is the educational role of the school and, particularly, of university institutions. Evidently one can only set out from the premise that the young generation learning today in schools has the duty of implementing economic and social development of the world of tomorrow; it will have to carry further the torch of progress on our planet, to realise the ardent aspirations of the peoples of securing to human society a new, more equitable and more rational groundwork, to establish a climate of peaceful coexistence, of friendship and fruitful cooperation of all nations. (. . .) (156)

(. . .) The industrialization of the developing countries, the fast progress of agriculture are closely linked to the liquidation of illiteracy, to raising the level of knowledge of all peoples, as turning to good account the national resources and operating modern technologies finally require intense work and ever more highly-trained cadres. (. . .) (157)

(. . .) Research must after all meet the requirements of society in a given stage and, Romania is now in the stage of fast development. We wish to remove as soon as possible the lag from which we set out, to raise the general development level of our country — materially and spiritually — but especially from the point of view of its material basis — and catch up in the shortest possible time with the developed countries. This cannot however be achieved without grounding all our realizations on the latest gains of contemporary science and technology. (. . .) (158)

(. . .) It is also the question of the staffs that is decisive for agriculture and industry alike. In the last analysis, a country may have financial means and receive credits, but if it has not the staffs necessary for using these means and credits, it cannot obtain good results. That is why the problem of staff training is of special importance for the developing countries. (. . .) (159)

(. . .) Also of outstanding importance is the judicious turning to account, in view of a faster progress, of both the national raw material resources, and the manpower, with permanent attention being paid to cadre training in all domains, in step with the demands of the contemporary techno-scientific revolution. (. . .) (160)

(...) Some are involved in encouraging, by all possible means, the recruitment of experts in order to obtain in this way cheap skilled labour. According to data supplied by the United Nations Organization, hundreds of thousands of experts have been recruited from the developing countries in the last years, while in these countries underdevelopment is getting sharper, of course, mainly as a result of the imperialist and colonialist policy, but also as an outcome of the lack of skilled staff. (...) (161)

(...) The new order also implies that the developing countries should have wide and unhindered access to the advanced technologies, to all gains of science and modern civilization. We consider it necessary to ensure to these countries technical assistance and effective support in the training of specialists and skilled workers required by the development of the national economy. Therefore it is ever more imperative to put an end to any action of recruiting skilled workers and specialists from these countries by the economically developed states — practice, which far from being an aid, is likely to hinder the respective peoples from solving the urgent problems of their economic development, to check their rapid advance on the road of progress. Viewing things from this angle it is necessary to ensure the return to their own countries of the cadres and specialists attracted to the advanced countries by various means, so that they should be able to help their own peoples in the difficult struggle for progress and welfare. (...) (162)

(...) In certain countries, the talk about people's rights to emigrate really pursues the aim of securing the big super-national trusts the possibility of recruiting cheap labour, particularly intellectual labour, and promoting cosmopolitan concepts that will eventually annihilate the national sense of freedom, serve the policy of domination and oppresion of other nations and peoples. (...) (163)

6. THE NEED FOR DEEP-GOING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES

(...) Our experience demonstrates that there is a close unity between the fight for national independence and the fight for social, revolutionary transformations. That is why

we view with much interest, sympathy and, at the same time, solidarity the shifts taking place in many of the Latin-American states. We see in these transformations an expression of the respective peoples' wish to be full masters of the national riches, to be able to use them in keeping with their own interests for speedier economic and social progress. We consider that these deep-going shifts in the national and social life of the Latin-American countries are irreversible, and that any attempts made will not succeed in hindering these countries, as neither did they succeed in hindering other peoples, from imposing their will, from building their own destinies as they wish.

Our own experience demonstrates that the full unity of the internal forces is necessary, that the different social classes and categories — and I refer to the workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and even part of the bourgeoisie — the entire people in the long run is interested in opening up the road to general progress. (. . .) (164)

(. . .) The question of social system concerns each people and we must set out from the observance of the right of each and every people to choose its development path in keeping with its wish, without any outside interference.

Above the differences of social system, of outlook on one or another problem, including the philosophical concepts, the peoples must cooperate with one another both for their development and for ensuring their independence, for the cause of peace in the world. (. . .) (165)

(. . .) We must resolutely work for the building of a better and more righteous world, for the promotion in contemporary life of a new humanism, based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of each people, on the elimination of all social and national inequalities, by creating conditions for the establishment of a lasting peace and a fruitful collaboration on our Planet. (. . .) (166)

(. . .) We also consider that mankind's progress is closely linked to the eradication of underdevelopment in which a great part of mankind still lives, to the establishment of a new international economic and political order, based on full equality and equity which should favour the faster progress of all countries, particularly of the lagging ones, permit the

broad and unhampered access of the peoples to the advanced technologies, to all gains of modern civilization. At the same time, it is necessary that all serious social anomalies still existing in the world be removed, as well as the flagrant inequalities of an economic and social nature, unemployment which affects millions of people, the numberless material, spiritual and political privations tormenting broad categories of people. We consider the right to work and to an adequate remuneration, the ensuring of dignified living and working conditions one of the fundamental human rigths and appreciate that everything should be done for this right to become a live reality everywhere, which all working people should enjoy. (. . .) (167)

(. . .) It stands to reason that the results we obtain in the economic development, in the raising of the people's material and spiritual level, in the turning into life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, secures the growth of the authority of socialist Romania internationally. This helps us prove that socialism is capable to solve better and quicker the complex problems of the economic development, of the satisfaction of the people's needs, of raising the material and spiritual welfare of all working people. This means a most important contribution to the cause of socialism, to the cause of progress and peace all over the world. Moreover, this demonstrates especially to the developing countries, that only in the conditions when each people becomes master on its national wealth, on its destiny and is building freely its own future it can ensure its welfare, happiness, independence and sovereignty. (. . .) (168)

7. ROMANIA — A SOCIALIST DEVELOPING COUNTRY

(. . .) In spite of all the tremendous successes won after Liberation in developing the country's material potential, an important gap from the economic point of view still exists between Romania and the advanced countries of the world, some more developed socialist countries included. Objective social-economic reality — the level of the per capita national income, the proportion of the farming population against the total population, as well as other economic indices —

demonstrate that we have still a long road to go in order to liquidate the backwardness from which we started in order to reach the level of the advanced countries; therefore, we must overtly state that Romania continues to be a developing country.

In order to bridge this gap, and to attain the fastest possible the level of the economically advanced countries, the Tenth Congress of the Party has set to the entire people the task of intensifying the efforts for developing the technico-material basis of society, for modernizing industry and agriculture for making an economy in step with the latest gains of world science and technique, by a maximum and high-level capitalization of the material and human resources of this country.

Practically, the bridging of the gap still separating Romania from the economically advanced countries, and Romania's rise to the level of the advanced world countries will probably require several five-year plan periods, until 1985—1990. (. . .) (169)

(. . .) Following the successes scored in all fields of activity we have put an end to the state of backwardness we started from, we have risen to a new level of development. Nevertheles, we must say that we still have plenty to do in order to secure for our people a high level of civilization and well-being, to fully meet their material and spiritual needs. If we compare ourselves with the economically developed states, we find that in many spheres an important lag still exists. This is why Romania, while having surmounted the stage of an underdeveloped country, continues to be a developing country; this is why it is still necessary to make huge efforts in order to step up material, scientific and cultural progress, so as to catch up with the advanced states of the world. (. . .)

(. . .) These differences make it imperative to channel our efforts to achieving a marked growth of the basic economic branches, the growth and improvement of the country's productive forces in step with the world technico-scientific revolution, to heighten the efficiency of all economic activity. What we have achieved so far reinforces our confidence that during the intended stage of our development and in a relatively short historical period we shall be able to get over the stage of a developing country. Romania's status at pre-

sent, and that we shall rank among the economically developed countries, thus ensuring a high living standard to the population and meeting its growing material and cultural requirements. (...) (170)

(...) Of course, bearing in mind that we have started from quite a low level, Romania continues to be still a developing country, with all the big successes she is recording. We make, however, sustained efforts for the speediest liquidation of the stage of backwardness inherited from the past, setting ourselves the task that in the next 10—15 years we should come very close to the industrially developed countries. Of course, we take into account the fact that these countries too are advancing on the economic and social development path, but we have in view that Romania's development rate be somewhat higher than the rate in other countries. For example, in the last two years* the industrial output of Romania developed at an annual 12 per cent rate, while that rate in the developed countries has been of an average of 5—6 per cent. This development at a higher rate will make it possible for us to considerably narrow down the existing gap in 10—15 years. (...) (171)

(...) I must say that not only there is no contradiction between what we have achieved and what we set ourselves to achieve, but this very fact points, in the last analysis that we are a developing country. It is known that when Romania began to build socialism she was an underdeveloped country. We have achieved remarkable successes in all fields, we have done away with the underdevelopment which we had inherited, we have built a unitary socialist economy, but this does not mean that Romania has bridged the gap which still separates it from the economically advanced countries. True, from the point of view of the social system, we rank among the most advanced countries, yet we still lag far behind, economically speaking. I have already featured the situation of our national revenue, the ratio between the manpower in industry and agriculture and the other factors that must be taken into consideration when assessing the level of development of a country. It follows then that the view of Romania being a developing country is a real fact to be reckoned with when establishing our future objectives. To consider it

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* 1971—1972 (*Publishers' note*)

sufficient that we have abolished the exploiting classes, that we have created a unitary socialist economy and socialist relations of production, without concerning ourselves with the development of the productive forces, of industry, agriculture, science and culture, would be an unforgivable mistake; such a view could cause the slackening of the development rate of our country, a fact which, as I have already said, would doom Romania to a long period of stagnation, and, implicitly, to lagging behind. By stating, as our fundamental aim, the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society we start from realities, from the fact that Romania is still a developing country. We set ourselves the task of doing away with this situation in the next 15 to 20 years, of raising Romania to a high level of industrial, agricultural, scientific and cultural development, of ensuring a substantial growth in the well-being of the people. We take the economically advanced countries as our terms of comparison, but what we have in view is to achieve an advanced economy, based on the most recent gains in science and technology, for building communism. (. . .) (172)

(. . .) I must mention it from the beginning, that in spite of all successes won in her economic advancement, Romania keeps still being a developing country compared with the economically developed countries.

As to the rate of growth of some countries, it should be compared, of course, with the general level of those states. Obviously, countries with a powerfully developed economy will witness a relatively slower development. After all, any development, must have a limit. After all, material output, the same as spiritual output in fact, must serve certain human necessities.

As to Romania, I appreciate that for some time she will still have to make efforts for maintaining a high rate of development, for narrowing down the gap separating her from the economically developed countries and securing such an economic level which should enable satisfaction in ever better conditions of the requirement of the entire people. As this gap will get narrower, it is without any doubt that Romania's growth rate will be slower. High-rate development is not just an aim, but a means to ensure the building of an advanced socialist society, which should well meet human requirements. (. . .) (173)

(. . .) Romania was and is still obliged to make big efforts for the development of the economy, for catching up on the industrially developed countries in some 10—15 years. The implementation of the socialist principles in their plenitude presupposes the existence of an economic force, of a production of material and spiritual assets which can fully satisfy the requirements of all members of society. The growing level of development of the productive forces, a drop in the share of the peasantry and the rising number of workers and technicians in the production of material boons will radically change also the relationship between the social forces, will lead to an approximation of the working conditions in industry and agriculture, between the work of the workers and that of the intellectuals. In the long run, no doubt, the structure of the Romanian society too and the conditions of manifestation of socialism will develop in relation with the country's general advancement. We endeavour to work consciously for hastening these transformations in the life of our society. (. . .) (174)

(. . .) We intend further to develop economy at an intense rate bearing in mind that Romania, though a socialist state, is still a developing country from the economic point of view. We intend to equalize in the next 10—15 years the development level of the developed socialist countries and come closer to the economically developed countries of the world. That is why, during the next Five Year Plan,* too, we will keep the ten per cent development rate. We also intend to lay greater stress on the modern branches of industry, such as electronics, machine-tools and complex equipment.

We also keep attaching particular heed to agriculture by carrying through an important irrigation and land melioration programme which will help the substantial increase of agricultural production in general and meeting in best of conditions our population's requirements.

We can say, therefore, that the forthcoming Five-Year Plan will mark an important stride ahead towards the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society, which will fully ensure better living conditions to the whole people.

At the same time, we will ensure the further increase of the people's cultural level and the development of education

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* 1976—1980 (*Publishers' note*)

and science — primordial factors of progress in the conditions of the present technical and scientific revolution. (...) (175)

(...) As for the programme of Romania's economic and social development in the next five years, this was drawn up by the Eleventh Congress of the Party, held in November last year. Development in the coming period is further grounded on the policy of industrialization, of harmoniously developing all the departments of the national economy including agriculture, of rational territorial distribution of the productive forces. We have in view in the next five years, such economic and social progress, that Romania should surpass the stage of a developing country and rise on to the first stage — if I may say so — of the developed countries. (...) (176)

(...) Indeed, the Eleventh Congress of the Party set, for the entire people, the task that Romania should reach, in a historically short period, the economic level of the developed countries.

Although, in the last 30 years industrial output has grown over 30 times and on a political-social plane we have built one of the most advanced societies in the world — the socialist socitey — nevertheless due to the state of backwardness inherited from the old regime, our country has still much to do for her economic development.

That is why, the Eleventh Congress of the Party envisaged the high-rate development of our socialist industry, further modernization of agriculture and harmonious development of all economic branches. Particularly important tasks devolve on scientific research for the development of the technical-material base of socialism and communism. We pay special attention to the training of specialists needed in all domains of activity. We are further concerned with the rational distribution of the productive forces throughout the country.

For the attainment of this objective, the Eleventh Congress recommended action for the most judicious utilization of the national income for both the consumption fund and the development fund. For instance, under the next five-year plan*, we shall allot about 66—67 per cent of the national income to consumption and about 33—34 per cent to the economic and social development of the country.

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* 1976—1980 (*Publishers' note*)

I would also like to mention that an important role in the attainment of the objectives envisaged is played by economic exchanges and cooperation with other states, by Romania's active participation in the international division of labour.

By pursuing this policy, Romania will be able to exceed the stage of a developing country after 1980 and gradually, by 1990 to reach the level of the economically developed states. The per capita national income will rise to some 2,500—3,000 dollars in 1990, as against about 800 dollars in 1974 and only 80 dollars in 1938. In this way, we shall ensure the impetuous development of the entire national economy, and on this basis, the welfare and the level of civilization of our whole socialist nation will be raised onto a higher stage (. . .)
(177)

(. . .) I would like to mention, first of all, that the Romanian people carries on sustained activity for the country's high-rate economic and social development, for raising its general welfare. Consequently, industry has developed at a some 12 per cent rate in recent years. Considerable results have been obtained also in agriculture. Science, education and culture have advanced, the material and spiritual standard of the people has grown. Telling in this respect is the fact that under the current 1976—1980 five-year plan, the real income of the working people is to increase some 32 per cent.

Although in the years of building the new social system industrial output has increased more than 35 times, Romania continues being a developing socialist country. Bearing this in mind, the Eleventh Party Congress envisaged in the long-term programme — until 1990 — that Romania should catch up or come considerably close to the economically developed countries. At the National Conference of the Party, in December last year, the guidelines for the 1981—1985 five-year plan were drawn up. In this framework, it is considered that Romania will surmount the stage of a developing country, entering the stage of a medium-developed country. We have in mind that the per capita national income be of some 2,500—2,600 dollars and that the per capita production of some basic products be close to the level of the advanced states. As a matter of fact, already under the current five-year plan the per capita steel output will be of some 700 kg, cement — about 800 kg, electric power — well-nigh

3,500 kW/h, cereals — some 1,000 kg. We shall make considerable progress in other compartments too.

Under the next five-year plan, this evolution will be more marked, and we shall create a strong material groundwork for the progress of the whole society. But this alone would not be sufficient. On the basis of developing the forces of production, we also mean to strongly propel scientific and technological research, education, training of cadres, cultural activity, general growth of the consciousness of the whole people. We shall also act for the improvement of management and of the framework for the people's democratic participation in managing all spheres of activity, the whole society.

As you see, we look upon Romania's transition to a higher development stage not only economically but also on a general social plane, including the sphere of socialist democracy, the conscious and effective participation of the people in building its own destiny. This made us continue the policy of hitherto — that of allocating some one third of the national income for development. Practice has demonstrated that only on this basis can the country's high-rate development be ensured, raising at the same time the people's material and spiritual standard.

It is obvious, that relying on the forces and labour of our people we also have in view the expansion of economic, technical and scientific collaboration with all states of the world, regardless of social system. We set out from the fact that only by broad development of international collaboration — naturally on principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs — can both the progress of each country and world peace and security be ensured. (...) (178)

(...) The further high-rate development of the socialist economy, the growth of the social product and national income will serve as groundwork for the implementation in 1976—1980 of a vast programme aimed at improving the cultural and material living standard of the people, at increasing the civilization and welfare of all working people. The total real incomes of the working people will grow by some 37 per cent in this period. Real remuneration will rise by 18—20 per cent, and the real incomes of the peasantry by 20—25 per cent. Another one million new jobs will be created in the entire economy. Concurrently, socio-cultural state

expenditure will grow more than 50 per cent and reach some 11,000 lei per family in 1980, as against 7,400 lei in 1975. In this period 815,000 flats will be built with state funds and the population is expected to build some 300,000 new dwellings with ist own money. The material basis of education, science and culture, and public health protection will also be expanded.

The policy of industrialization, of powerful development of the productive forces throughout the country will be firmly continued and, by 1980, it will result in the employment in non-agricultural sectors of more than 70 per cent of the active labour force, almost 50 per cent of which will work in industry and building. This will be a fundamental change in the structure of the productive forces and the social structure of our country marking Romania's transformation into an industrial-agrarian country where industry is to have the leading role.

All the achievements of so far, as also the provisions for the homeland's development in the new stage demonstrate the correctness of our Party policy of distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the development fund. It is due to this policy, to earmarking one third of the national income for development that we could ensure the accelerated progress of economy and hence the about 2.5 times growth of the national income in the last ten years. It is on this basis that per-capita national income could be increased from some 7,670 lei in 1965 to over 17,000 lei in 1975. Had we allotted only 25 per cent to development, for instance, we would have achieved a lower rate of economic growth and the national income would have been much smaller, it could have stood at most at some 14,000 lei per capita.

Under the circumstances, had we allotted 75 per cent to consumption and 25 per cent to development, the per-capita consumption fund would have amounted to some 10,500 lei. But by earmarking 67 per cent for consumption and 33 per cent for development, the above-shown rise was attained in material production and national income, and the per-capita consumption fund stood at about 11,800 lei.

At present*, Romania's national income is three to four times smaller, i.e. about 1,000 dollars per capita, than that of the average developed countries. But in 1960, this difference was 8—10 times. It is obvious that we have made great

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* 1970 (*Publishers' note*)

progress but we still have much to do to liquidate the lag we have started from. In this case, even if we alloted for consumption the whole national income — which of course is impossible — consumption would be several times smaller in Romania than in the countries I have referred to which have bigger national income. That is why it is necessary to maintain a high accumulation rate to have a national income of about 2,500—3,000 dollars by 1990. To attain this rise we must continue to earmark a considerable part of the national income for development, since only in this way can we liquidate the lag inherited from the past, can we ensure the faster progress of the national wealth and on this basis the growth of general welfare, the independence and sovereignty of our socialist homeland. (. . .) (179)

(. . .) As Romania is a developing socialist country it will continue making sustained efforts in this Five-Year Plan too for the growth and modernization of the productive forces earmarking to this end over 33 per cent of the national income. We believe that it is only by building a strong technical and material basis that we manage to bridge the gaps and to get equalization with the development level of the socialist developed states, of the economically advanced countries of the world, that generally speaking, the socialist and communist society cannot be built without building a prosperous economy. The results of so far fully corroborate the correctness of the policy our Party promotes which applies the general principles of socialism, the universally valid truths to Romania's specific conditions.

Concomitantly with the deep changes wrought in the structure of our society, we have permanently been working for an uninterrupted improvement in the relations of production and in the social relations. Under the conditions in which the working masses master the productive forces, all the national wealth, we create a new-type democracy which is radically different from the bourgeois democracy grounded on exploitation and oppression of the majoritoy of the people. We have already created in this respect the organizational framework for the working people to take part in the governing of the entire economic and social life. There are in all enterprises and institutions councils of the working people, and collective management bodies exist at every level in our society. (. . .) (180)'

VII

Orientations of the International Endeavours for Building the New World Economic Order

1. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES' EFFORTS FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

(. . .) Of primordial importance for the development of cooperation, for building a more just and better world on our planet are the measures to assist the developing countries in achieving their faster economic and social progress, to bridging the gap which separates them from the developed countries. In this context it is necessary to have a new approach to the energy problems, to the problem of raw materials and, generally speaking, to the relations between the developed and the developing countries; new, equitable links have to be established between the states producing raw materials and the developed states. All this has to aim at creating conditions for the gradual narrowing down of the gap existing between states, for a more rapid economic progress of the underdeveloped countries. Romania believes that in the discussion of these problems all countries have to participate within the framework or under the aegis of the United Nations, in the spirit of the principles of fully equal rights and of respect for the will and the interests of each nation. (. . .) (181)

(. . .) The liquidation of underdevelopment is essential to overcome the present economic crisis, to create conditions for the economic and social progress of mankind, of international peace and cooperation. (. . .) (182)

(. . .) Parallelly with the intensification of their own efforts, a role of utmost importance for speeding up the progress of the underdeveloped and developing countries is played by expanded international collaboration grounded on

equity, mutual advantage and multilateral support. This collaboration should assist the underdevelopment countries in building their own industry, in turning to better account their natural resources and in actively participating, on an equal footing, in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of goods and assets. (...) (183)

(...) For underdevelopment to be done away with we consider that the efforts to be made by every developing country for the optimal use of its material and human resources and means should be supported by resolute measures of the international community for backing the acceleration of the economic and social progress of these peoples. It is in the interest of all the nations — including the developed states of the world — that the developing countries be helped more extensively in creating their own industry, in developing their economy at a high rate, turning fully to account their national resources, actively participating, under conditions of full equality and equity, in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of material and spiritual values. (...) (184)

(...) Concrete measures for a fast development of the lagging countries must be ensured by close international cooperation. In present-day international conditions, this is an objective necessity without which one cannot speak of a more just and better world, of peace and cooperation. (...) (185)

2. THE DUTY OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS TOWARDS PROGRESS MADE BY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(...) We consider necessary that the powerfully industrialized states, too, should substantially augment the means in support of the industrialization process of the developing countries, should grant them preferential treatment in all economic domains, encourage and participate, through cooperation, in the carrying through of those countries' economic development programmes. (...) (186)

(...) It is absolutely necessary to act with full responsibility and consistency on the line of removing the gap exist-

ing in the development of different parts of the world, of supporting the efforts made by the lagging states and of accelerating their advance on the road of progress and prosperity. In this direction, we believe that the advanced countries could make a more considerable contribution.

To give my honest opinion, this is also an obligation, bearing in mind the fact that the development of many of the advanced countries is also due to the hundreds of years that they plundered the colonies, that they acquired part of the national income of those peoples. To contribute to the development of those countries means to restore a small part of what has been taken from them. I believe this to be honest, right and must be realised. (. . .) (187)

(. . .) Furthermore, resolute measures must be taken in order to provide technical assistance to industry and agriculture and to step up assistance in the training of the national cadres needed for the implementation of these programmes. The speeding up of economic and social progress must obviously be based in the first place on the work and the endeavours of each nation. At the same time, it is necessary that the more developed nations and states, those that have developed also at the expense of the oppressed and underdeveloped ones, give a more substantial assistance to the ensurance of economic and social progress of those states. It is only in this way that the programmes for rapid economic and social development can be implemented and results can be obtained in the bridging of the gaps separating the advanced from the underdeveloped countries. (. . .) (188)

(. . .) When I refer to the need for the developed countries to give more substantial assistance, I do not consider this as an act of pity or a gesture of charity. I regard this as an obligation of these countries bearing in mind the fact that their very development is the result also of the contribution of the lagging peoples.

I shall give an example. In the period of foreign domination in Romania, almost 14,000 tons of gold were taken under different forms from the Romanian people. I think that many peoples are in the same situation who were under imperialist and colonialist domination. Hence, this is a matter of returning to them a small part of what was taken from them in the course of tens and hundreds of years. Secondly, the very future development of the present-day economically

advanced countries is closely linked to the liquidation of underdevelopment in the world. (...) (189)

(...) Starting from the reality that most rich, economically advanced countries have ensured their progress at the expense of the former colonies, the underdeveloped countries, it is only fair and equitable that the former should restore a part of what they had appropriated, contributing, under various forms, to the efforts of the underdeveloped countries to create a modern economy, to do away with their lagging behind. The developed countries' duty to support the lagging countries is not an act of goodwill or charity, but a moral duty towards the countries which were oppressed in the past and, at the same time, an objective necessity for a better and more just world on our Planet. (...) (190)

(...) Considering that in Europe there are economically developed countries, which once exerted colonial domination and, consequently, have a moral obligation to contribute to the liquidation of underdevelopment, it is a highly important task for the communist parties on our continent to act in support of an accelerated economic and social progress of the states still lagging behind. In our opinion, this is a point of pride and honour of the communists of Europe. (...) (191)

(...) Taking account of the fact that most of the rich countries have secured their progress and development by exploiting the former colonies, the underdeveloped countries, it is both ethical and equitable that they should give back part of what they appropriated, contributing more substantially, in various forms, to the efforts of the underdeveloped countries for building a new, modern economy for themselves. (...) (192)

3. THE NEED FOR STABILIZING PRICES AND CURRENCY, FOR ENSURING A PROPER RATIO BETWEEN THE PRICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND THOSE OF THE RAW MATERIALS, BETWEEN THE FORMER AND THE PRICES OF FARM-FOOD PRODUCTS

(...) Whether we like it or not we must acknowledge the fact that mankind's development cannot be left to chance. Conscious action must be taken for ensuring a more stable

equilibrium in the development of the economy, in the ratio between prices on the international plane. It is clear that these prices must exclude the inequalities of hitherto and create conditions for the raw material possessing countries — which are usually the lagging ones — to be able to develop rapidly; at the same time optimum conditions must also be ensured for the expansion of industrial activity and for the general development of economy at an international level. (. . .) (193)

(. . .) We hold that in the current world economic situation, a fundamental element for propelling the development of economic activity, eliminating the sources of inequity from inter-state relations, is the establishment of fair ratios of the prices of raw materials, farm produce included, to those of industrial goods. We also consider that the adoption might be contemplated of an international system to ensure greater stability of prices — at least for a period of several years — while any modification of the prices be operated by the consensus of those concerned. (. . .) (194)

(. . .) We set out from the fact that the fluctuation of prices is to the disadvantage of stability and economic development. We stand for equitable prices of raw materials. These must contribute to the development of the countries, lagging behind. At the same time, we deem that there must exist an equitable ratio between the costs of raw materials and industrial products, which should encourage the development of industrial activity and secure profits. You know well which are the consequences of price fluctuations, particularly with oil, as well as with other raw materials, the problems of the crisis which has increased. Romania deems that in the interest of stability, of a general progress of all states, a new economic order is to be necessarilly reached, that should favour the general economic activity. There should be established such pointers or prices, that should prevent the appearance of disparities among the costs of industrial products, raw materials and agricultural produce. Even when, at a certain moment, some derive gains from the rise of some prices, on a general plane, this has a negative influence upon all the states, upon the economic stability, on an international plane. (. . .) (195)

(. . .) We consider that in the matter of the prices of raw materials and industrial goods, in achieving a fair, proper ratio between them, one should set out from the objective realities, account being taken of both the production expenditures and the value in use of the merchandise. Setting out from the prices of the main raw materials, their processing and industrialization has to be ensured with minimum production expenditures; likewise, adequate transport prices must be established. In this way the profitableness of the industrial goods will be secured, hence conditions are created for a normal unfolding of economic activity. The setting of scientifically established prices for raw materials, for transport, for basic industrialized goods has to ensure equitable conditions for both the owners of raw materials and the industrial producers, thus stepping up the continental development of the productive forces and economic activity, eliminating the sources of inequity, exploitation and oppression of other peoples. It is also necessary that more attention be paid to the development of agriculture, to establishing prices for farm produce that should encourage the continual growth of production in this important economic compartment. At the same time, an adequate ratio has to be preserved of the prices of raw materials, to industrial products and farm-food produce.

It is also necessary that greater stability of the prices be pursued by establishing rational criteria in price setting for various products and hampering the unjustified modification of prices by some countries to the detriment of others. In this connection, the adoption of an international system could be contemplated, that should ensure greater stability of prices — at least for a few years — and any changes in these prices be allowed only by the joint consent of those concerned. Taking account of these considerations, more and more necessary appears the setting up of an international body — with the participation of all states interested — that should ensure the settlement of the issues in the interests of all nations, actively promoting the assertion of the new principles, of the new international economic order. (. . .) (196)

In the frame of the new international economic order it is necessary to ensure a just ratio between the prices of raw materials, industrial products and agricultural produce and

to provide conditions for the unhampered development of all nations of the world, for the elimination of underdevelopment first of all. (...) (197)

(...) I have in mind especially the establishment of such ratios of the prices of raw materials to those of industrial goods that should take account of the current realities, of social and international equity, hence the building of a new international economic and political order. All this presupposes the participation in international life of all states, irrespective of size and social system. (...) (198)

(...) This surely entails the achievement of an as correct indexing as possible between the prices of raw materials and of industrial commodities. To this end, the raw material possessing countries ought to be paid prices matching the activity deployed for exploitation of these raw materials, their value, but which should also help them to reach a faster economic and social development. At the same time, industrial products must of course be delivered at such prices which should not annihilate the benefits derived from the prices of the raw materials but which should also encourage further development of industrial activity.

This is, however, only one facet of the new international economic order since world-wide stability, more stable rates of international currencies and the access of the less developed countries to modern technologies are also necessary. (...) (199)

(...) It is necessary that new relations of economic cooperation based on the principles of full equal rights be established among all the states. A fair ratio between the prices of the raw materials and those of the industrial products must be established. This ratio should be favourable to the developing countries and contribute to their more rapid advance. I refer to this because the achievement of a policy of peace and cooperation in the world depends on the liquidation of underdevelopment. (...) (200)

(...) The new international economic order presupposes the establishment of relations which should set out from rationally established prices for raw materials, meant to favour and support the developing countries to make a faster progress. At the same time, this presupposes the attainment of just ratios between the prices of raw materials and those

of industrial products to make industrial products and technologies from the developed countries accessible and, at the same time, ensure an appropriate stimulus for the development of industrial activity. Hence, this equitable ratio of prices has to correspond to the interests of all parties, contribute to stimulating the development of the productive forces, to expanding industrial activity, to the progress of agriculture. Such a resolution of the international economic relations would also favour the development of the lagging countries and no doubt, would secure the observance of those countries' independence and sovereignty within a broad cooperation, in the interest of all nations. (. . .)

(. . .) It is, however necessary, first of all, to better regulate the consumption, to remove waste, which would be to the advantage of the peoples from many points of view, including the avoidance of accentuated pollution. At the same time it is necessary to step up researches, not only concerning the hydrocarbon deposits but also with a view to tapping and using fresh energy sources — which, in fact, has already started on an international plane. Romania has her own programme in this respect, is also interested in taking part in a number of ventures on an international plane in this field. (. . .) (201)

(. . .) This presupposes also the establishment of fair ratios between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial products, taking account both of production expenditures and of the value in use of goods so that the prices stimulate the development of the forces of production, the intensification of economic activity of all the countries. (. . .) (202)

(. . .) At the same time, we are likewise interested in a balance between the costs of raw materials and industrial products, in an adequate ratio to be reached, which should favour the holders and producers of raw materials but simultaneously encourage the industrial producers, consequently in the achievement of a balance, and of such an economic order apt to stimulate production in all the fields, of an economic stability, without which there cannot be welfare, prosperity and peace in the world. (. . .) (203)

(. . .) Romania too is an oil producing country. The problem of the prices of oil and of other products is essential

for economic stability, equitable ratios of the prices of oil, raw materials, agricultural produce and industrial products that we pursue by the establishment of a new economic order. The continuous growth in prices harms economic stability and development. It is therefore necessary for all countries — the oil producing countries and those having raw materials, as well as the industrialized countries — to unite and reach common conclusions as regards new, just and equitable ratios of the prices of all these products. (. . .) (204)

(. . .) We consider it of paramount importance for the establishment of a new international economic order to have a fair ratio ensured between the prices of raw materials and the prices of industrial goods, a proper correlation between them and the farm produce prices. It is natural that the countries producing raw materials should receive prices enabling them to record the fastest possible economic and social development; at the same time, industrial goods should be delivered at prices encouraging the further development of industrial activity. (. . .) (205)

(. . .) The settlement of the monetary, energy, raw material and other issues is directly linked to the realisation of a new international economic order — and implicitly of an international political order. (. . .) (206)

(. . .) The artificial barriers and discriminatory clauses which narrow the free exchange and equal cooperation among nations should be rapidly eliminated from the practice of international economic collaboration. An imperious demand is to ensure the stability of currency, to create such an international currency system favouring the normal and equitable development of economic exchanges and collaboration. (. . .) (207)

(. . .) We also witness, as you know, a certain sharpening of economic contradictions between some countries. Actually, the international monetary crisis is exactly an expression of this state of affairs.

In order to ensure an adequate solution and create conditions for a general economic progress, one should set out, in my opinion, from the necessity to establish relations based on full equality among all states, from the removal of some restrictions and barriers hampering free cooperation among

states. At the same time one should have in mind the achievement of most equitable relations, especially between the developed and developing countries. (...) (208)

(...) Internationally, the need is ever more obvious today, for some accords among states to judiciously set prices. Measures have to be taken thus for a more equitable relationship to be achieved between the prices of various products and especially between the prices of industrial products, and those of raw materials, so that it should stimulate both the raw material-producing countries and the industrialized countries. The respective measures should serve the interests of all countries, of the general economic development of the peoples.

The world economy is deeply perturbated by the monetary and financial crisis, by the grave inflationary phenomena, most evident in the developed capitalist countries but which have seriously affected the developing countries as well, and whose negative effects extend to all states, to the international exchanges and relations as a whole. These are phenomena with deep causes in the capitalist economy, but which can be attenuated by equitable international regulations, that have to be subject of debates and meetings, with the participation of all states, of international specialized bodies, of the UN bodies as well. Taking into account the ever stronger interdependence among the countries of the world, these problems can no longer be solved by a small group of states, but by the whole community of the nations of the world. Romania is determined to make her active contribution to intensify the efforts of states along this line, for consolidating the stability of the entire world economy. (...) (209)

4. THE FREE ACCESS OF ALL STATES TO THE GAINS OF WORLD SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE. THE ASSISTANCE LENT FOR THE TRAINING OF NATIONAL CADRES

(...) The new order also presupposes the creation of conditions enabling all states to benefit, within international collaboration, by the gains of modern science and technology. This means that, while backing the efforts of the less ad-

vanced states for the development of their own based on research and development, their broad unhampered access to modern technologies, should be ensured under conditions of full equality and mutual advantage. It is all the more necessary to take into consideration the truth that in the era of the most tremendous technical and scientific revolution, the progress of no country — and least of all the lagging ones — can be achieved without the adoption of the most advanced gains of human knowledge. In this respect, we deem it necessary that technical assistance and concrete support be given to the underdeveloped countries for the moulding and training of experts and workers. (...) (210)

(...) Romania, which is building a new society — the socialist society — on its land constantly acts for the development of science and technique, for their promotion in all branches of material production and of the entire social life. As part of the general policy of industrialization — which we consider as a *sine qua non* for the elimination of the underdevelopment inherited from the past, for the harmonious development of the entire economy, for the consolidation of national independence and the raising of the people's welfare — we pay special attention to advanced technology, to the improvement of production technologies on the basis of the latest achievements of modern scientific thinking. By acting for the carrying into effect of this policy, and concentrating their entire energy on the flourishing of the new socialist society, the scientists and experts of this country are also actively participating in the international exchange of technico-scientific assets, they have contributed and will further contribute to the settlement of the great themes and objectives that preoccupy scientists and specialists the world over and on which the world technico-scientific progress, the civilization and peace of all peoples depend. (...) (211)

(...) The normal development of the international life also requires that all countries be ensured broad access, without discrimination or artificial barriers to the sources of raw materials and energy, to the latest gains of modern science and technology. To this end, we deem it desirable that the current UNIDO General Assembly should adopt fresh measures to encourage industrial cooperation and the building of priority economic objectives in the developing countries, to facilitate the transfer of modern technology to

those countries and the training of specialized national cadres, to diversify and estblish new forms of industrial and technico-scientific cooperation that should lead to a broad and efficient participation of those countries in the international division of labour. (...) (212)

(...) A more substantial support to the developing countries is necessary, creating conditions for their unhampered access to the modern technologies, realizing a programme for the general economic and social development of those states, particularly for the development of the output of farm-food produce — which will grow into one of the most complicated problems in the years to come. (...) (213)

(...) As I have referred to the question of underdevelopment and of the access to modern technologies, I must emphasize that the support given to the developing countries in the training of the necessary cadres is essential in this respect. Neither technologies nor the scientific and technical gains in any domain can be used without the necessary cadres, from skilled workers up to technical research cadres, to scientists with the most advanced knowledge. (...)

(...) In her international relations, Romania pays great attention to cooperation in the training of cadres. Thousands of young people from abroad study in Romania, particularly from the developing countries; at the same time, thousands of Romanian specialists give technical assistance in those countries. Hence, Romania cooperates not only in theory but also in practice with other peoples, with the developing countries, in the training of the necessary cadres.

I consider that the United Nations Organization, UNESCO, ought to pay greater attention to the question of training cadres in the developing countries — of course, under more advantageous economic conditions than those afforded today in some countries. I emphasize once again that the establishment of new relations, the abolishment of underdevelopment, the building of a new international economic — and hence also political — order is also linked to the settlement of the question of training cadres, of raising the cultural level of all peoples. (...)

(...) We live in an epoch in which the technical and scientific revolution develops at an unprecedented scale. This renders necessary the broad access of all peoples to the gains

of technology and science, of knowledge in general, and the use of all these gains not for military purposes but to the benefit of economic and social development, of Man's welfare and happiness.

We consider that, under conditions of equitable cooperation, the countries disposing of advanced technologies should facilitate the access of all states and nations to such technologies, help other peoples organise their activity based on the latest gains of present-day science and technics. This, in fact, is one of the essential demands of the new international economic order I have referred to.

As for Romania, we pay great attention to research activity in all domains, and closely cooperate with other socialist and non-socialist states toward a widest possible use of the gains of science for our country's economic and social development; likewise, in our cooperation with the developing countries for the building of economic projects, we set out from the need for building them according to the latest technologies. As a matter of fact, along this line the Eleventh Congress of our Party established as a target for the ensuing five years the assertion of the technical and scientific revolution in all compartments of activity. We are aware that multilaterally developed socialist society, the people's rising level of civilization cannot be achieved without founding all actions for the country's development on the latest gains in all fields of activity. Anyone visiting Romania can see our efforts and preoccupation along this line. (. . .) (214)

(. . .) We are living in an epoch of great scientific conquests, man becomes ever more a master of the secrets of nature, penetrates Outer-space, he set foot on the Moon. Meanwhile, on earth a large number of problems have not yet been settled. Two thirds of mankind are deprived of food, medical assistance, facilities for education. That is why it is necessary for us to pool together our efforts so as to place the gains of science in the service of mankind, to make the most valuable creations of man serve the welfare and freedom of the peoples, of all people. (. . .) (215)

(. . .) It is known that in our epoch science is an important productive force and, at the same time, an essential element in the modern and rational organization of society. The aplication of the gains of science has become *sine qua*

sion for the progress of each nation, for raising the living standard of the peoples, for improving the living conditions of the whole of mankind. As a superior product of human genius, science is called upon to serve man, the cause of his welfare and happiness. That is why the man of science should do everything for placing the gains of knowledge exclusively in the service of peace, cooperation and friendship among nations. Huge material and creative resources, a big potential of scientific research are presently absorbed by the arms race, by the competition for producing weapons with ever more destructive effects which spell tremendous danger to world civilization, to the human species itself..(...)

(...) A grave anomaly is also the fact that a series of scientific discoveries and gains have a very narrow area of dissemination, are subject to a policy of monopoly, considered as intangible secrets, hampering thus the access of large populations of the Globe to the blessings of modern civilization. Or, by its very nature, science is governed by generous, humanistic principles. It has to pursue the supreme goal of raising the standard of material, social and spiritual life of the whole of mankind. That is why any discrimination, barriers and restrictions should be eliminated from the circulation of the values of scientific cognition, free access should be ensured of all nations, and first of the less developed ones, to the fruits of contemporary technico-scientific revolution. Science should play a more active role in liquidating the phenomenon of underdevelopment, the division of the world into rich and poor countries, should contribute to ensuring the participation of the broad people's masses everywhere in governing society, in the conscious building of their own destiny, of a better and more just life. (...) (216)

(...) By answering these lofty imperatives of contemporary development, science and its votaries can and must make an ever more important contribution to the general efforts of present-day mankind for the building of a better and more just world, of a world of peace and fruitful collaboration among peoples. Contacts, collaboration and cooperation among scientists everywhere have to be intensified more than ever before so as to broach and solve by common force problems meant to secure to Man fresh possibilities of knowing and using the laws of nature and the resources of

the Planet in the interests of improving his living conditions, of building a life of plenty and of happiness. (. . .) (217)

(. . .) The best measures should be taken for solving these questions, in order to secure the developing countries' free access to modern science and technology, to the great achievements of contemporary civilization, for the speeding up of the economic and social progress of all countries lagging behind, for an as fast as possible narrowing of the gaps in the level of development of various states. (. . .) (218)

5. THE URGENT ELIMINATION FROM INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION OF THE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS AND DISCRIMINATORY CLAUSES WHICH HINDER THE FREE EXCHANGES AND THE COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING

(. . .) In order to speed up general progress it is necessary for all the states to assume the obligation of favouring the free development of international economic, scientific technical and cultural interchange, by abolishing all kinds of barriers, restrictions and discriminations which at present infringe upon cooperation between peoples. (. . .) (219)

(. . .) Obviously, the division of the world in closed economic blocs, the restrictions of all kinds barring the road to the development of economic relations among states are far from leading to the solving of problems, to improving the condition of the respective state or group but on the contrary lead to the aggravation of the international economic situation, of the states belonging to these blocs inclusively.

The events of last autumn and spring fully demonstrated how valid these things were. Life has also proved that not even the most developed countries are spared the difficulties arising in the international economic situation; on the contrary they are heavily stricken by the damages they cause. This is precisely why we consider that a new order must be established in the international economic relations which should be based on new principles of equality, independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, observance of each nation's right to be master of its own national riches, to use them according to the interests of

their free socio-economic development, of promoting their own people's welfare. (...) (220)

(...) The foundation of economic relations on new bases requires the removal of restrictions and artificial barriers barring today the path of economic exchanges and cooperation among states. Life shows that the perpetuation of these discrimination does not favour the position of the respective countries and groupings, but, on the contrary, turns into aggravating factors in international economic development. (...) (221)

(...) The liquidation of underdevelopment has to lead to bringing closer the development levels of various states, to growing welfare of all peoples. The fact must be understood that no people's prosperity can be realized to the detriment of other peoples. In no way must economic relations be resorted to for economic pressures or immixtures in internal affairs. (...) (222)

(...) The artificial barriers and discriminatory clauses which narrow the free exchange and equal cooperation among nations should be rapidly eliminated from the practice of international economic collaboration. (...) (223)

(...) We militate for eliminating customs barriers and the other obstacles which brake economic exchanges and cooperation, for settling the serious social problems which hurt the interests of the broad people's masses, for halting the arms race that heavily burdens the peoples, for establishing new, genuinely democratic relations, for a new economic order, for international peace and collaboration. (...) (224)

6. THE ACTIVE PART WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD PLAY IN THE BUILDING OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. THE WORKING OUT OF CONCRETE PROGRAMMES FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF THE NECESSARY CHANGES

(...) The preoccupations of the specialized bodies of the United Nations focus on economic and social support for the efforts of these States, and their activities enjoy appreciation

with world opinion. It goes without saying that the discovery and use of natural and human resources, the development of the productive forces depend first of all on the work and efforts of each people, of each State, and, at the same time, substantial support from the developed States and the United Nations is needed for these countries for fructifying their efforts to the utmost.

I would take the liberty to affirm that, in my opinion, what has been achieved so far in this so very important field of international cooperation is still insufficient, and the intensification of preoccupations along this line stands out as an important present-day target.

Certainly, the United Nations activity focuses on numerous burning questions; but I think that the aspects of economic, technical and scientific cooperation which are essential for the progress of the peoples and for the cause of peace itself should hold one of the most prominent places in the Organization's preoccupations. It is in this spirit, I think, that the role of the economic-social bodies should grow in the life of the United Nations and their activities expand.

The assertion on the world arena of tens of newly-independent States, the complexity of the problems of international collaboration and cooperation entail a growth of the role played by the small and middle-sized countries. For these countries, and the more so for the developing countries, the strengthening of international cooperation relations for peaceful purposes, in all fields of activity, is a primordial requirement, a fundamental condition of their economic and technical-scientific progress. (. . .) (225)

(. . .) It is high time to go over from general resolutions about the abolishment of under-development to practical measures, to a many-sided programme of supporting the efforts of progress of the lagging states — a programme to which the advanced countries should make their considerable contribution. (. . .) (226)

(. . .) We consider that the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries have to participate with equal rights in the resolution of all problems concerning them, that the consolidation is necessary of the role of the United Nations Organization and of other bodies in international life. This accords with the necessities of achieving

in the world a new policy that should secure to every nation the right to free development, in concordance with its aspirations. (...) (227)

(...) We believe that, in addition to the multilateral activity of various international agencies, an important role in the fulfilment of the above-mentioned objectives devolves on bilateral collaboration based on the principles of equality which should contribute to the assertion of the new international economic order.

Romania is resolutely expanding collaboration with the developing countries in all fields of activity on mutually advantageous bases, at the same time making an active contribution to the implementation of the general programmes which are going to be drawn up. We are fully convinced that there are real possibilities to achieve this, and that the united action of the developing countries will result in important progress in this respect, in the ensuing period. (...) (228)

(...) It this framework, greater attention should be paid to doing away with underdevelopment, to working out programmes of measures that should ensure a faster progress of the lagging countries, the achievement, over a certain period, of a relative levelling up, account being taken of course of the characteristic geographic and climate conditions of the various countries. (...) (229)

(...) We consider that time has come for switching over to the adoption of firm measures for ensuring the development of inter-state economic relations upon new bases. To this end, we assess necessary the working out of a special programme that should lead, over a certain period of time, to the bridging of the economic and technological gaps between states, to the faster progress of the lagging countries. In this respect, UNIDO can and must play an important role in the working out and carrying through of such a programme. (...) (230)

(...) The achievement of détente, cooperation and peace requires the strengthening of the United Nations Organization, as an important factor for the settling of complex international problems. At the same time, the participation

of all the states, irrespective of their size, in the entire international life, in the solving up of the problems concerning contemporary mankind is necessary. (. . .) (231)

(. . .) The economic crisis, the problems posed in connection with this powerfully demonstrate that without a settlement of the question of underdevelopment one cannot speak of economic stability, of ensuring mankind's general progress, nor of the realization of relations of cooperation and peace in the world. All this, no doubt, calls for serious measures to actively support the efforts of the developing countries, by an international programme where the United Nations could play an important role with a view to backing up a speedier development of those states. (. . .) (232)

(. . .) The democratization of international relations still calls for sustained efforts for the complete liquidation of the old policy of inequity and interference in the affairs of other countries. In this respect, we hold that an important role is incumbent on the United Nations, on other international organizations which provide an organized setting for the active participation of all states — hence of the small and medium-sized countries — in the settlement of all questions of interest to them. Events demonstrate that the complex questions of the contemporary world, including the economic problems, cannot be solved only by a few countries, but necessary is the active participation of all states irrespective of their size, or social system. (. . .) (233)

(. . .) On this line of particular usefulness would be the drawing up of special programmes under the aegis of the United Nations Organization and other international organizations which rally and channel the means and possibilities of the states toward the attainment of the objectives of general interest of improving man's life on Earth. The United Nations Organization, the other international organizations are the most suitable setting for the organization of large international meetings, with the participation of all states, for the purpose of finding solutions and adopting measures which should ensure the concrete solving of the numerous complex problems related to the development of the contemporary world economy. (. . .) (234)

(...) We should pay greater attention to enhancing the role of the United Nations Organization and of other international organizations, considering that these provide the most adequate setting for active participation on an equal footing in the settlement of all peoples' issues. (...) (235)

(...) Romania considers that an important role in this connection should be played by the United Nations, the international economic bodies and organizations. Concrete programmes should be worked out within their framework, concerning the translation into life of the various objectives of the new order. It is a positive fact that the United Nations devoted a special session last autumn* to the problems of underdevelopment and of building the new economic order. We deem it necessary that efforts continue at the United Nations Organization for the elaboration of principles and the establishment of modalities of practical action, either by designating one of the existing agencies of the Organization, or — taking account of the importance of this issue —, by setting up a special agency which, in a certain period of time, should put forward a programme of measures on this line. (...) (236)

(...) We believe that a particular role and great responsibility are incumbent on the international organizations — UNCTAD included, which have to contribute to finding the most suitable ways and means of solving these problems, with the participation of all states on an equal footing, for the establishment of new international economic and political order, which should be conducive to the liquidation of underdevelopment, to ensuring a faster progress of all states and, first of all, of the lagging ones. (...) (237)

(...) The United Nations and its specialized agencies can actively back the efforts being made internationally in this respect by implementing special programmes and facilitating the exchange of experience, information, technical assistance just as contacts among experts. (...) (238)

(...) Romania also considers that in eliminating underdevelopment, a more active role should be played by the

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* 1975 (*Publishers' note*)

United Nations Organization, by its bodies, by the other international economic organizations which should democratically and concretely debate the ways and means for building the new world economic order. (. . .) (239)

(. . .) We also firmly militate for the creation of all conditions with a view to the participation of all the states and peoples, irrespective of their social system, size or economic and military potential, in international life, in the solution of the complex problems facing makind today. We believe that the role of the United Nations and of other international organizations has to increase in securing the effective participation of all states in the discussion and solution of the ardent problems of our days. (. . .) (240)

(. . .) It is necessary to work out appropriate agreement on a world level designed to carry into effect such an orientation and to promote such new relations which one could generically call a new international economic order.

Such an approach to the pending questions is apt to meet not only the interests of the developing countries, but also the interests of the developed countries, since it would be conducive to greater economic stability, to fuller utilization of productive capacities and labour force and, therefore, to a healthier development of the world economy.

We believe that the United Nations and its international agencies, the economic ones in particular, have an important part to play in providing an appropriate framework of negotiation for the conclusion of the necessary agreements and for watching over their implementation. (. . .) (241)

(. . .) I consider the Charter of the States' Economic Rights and Duties, initiated by President Echeverria and entirely subscribed to by Romania — as a good groundwork, as a document which uplifts the struggle of the people for the attainment of the new international economic order. The implementation of this desideratum is, however, very complex and calls for the sustained efforts of all the peoples. Of course, most interested in this are the developing countries, but so that the complex economic questions be solved and the new international economic order accomplished, hence the founding of inter-state relations on new principles of equality, equity, mutual respect and multilateral collabor-

ation, an active participation of all nations, of all states is required in the complete elaboration of all the norms which should underlie the new international economic order. The Charter of the States' Economic Rights and Duties is a basis for the holding of concrete negotiations to be necessarily attended, in my opinion, by all states. It is only in this way that the conclusions reached and principles endorsed jointly will be observed and implemented by all states. (. . .) (242)

(. . .) We pay much heed to underdevelopment-related issues. Romania, a socialist country, is a developing country as well. Recently* Romania was admitted officially, in Manila, among the developing countries. This will make us work still more determinedly in the future for a solution to the underdevelopment problems and for the establishment of a new world economic order. We mean liquidation of the old relations of inequity and the building of new relations of equality and equity among all nations. We set out from the fundamental changes that have been wrought in the world, from the people's ever more vigorous assertion of their will to be free and master of their destinies, from the historic successes the national liberation movements in various countries won, that practically, the question now posed is the definitive liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism and the strengthening of the developing countries' solidarity for their independent economic and social development. (. . .) (243)

(. . .) The Manila Declaration and Programme of Action, drawn up by the developing countries, are, in our opinion, a good basis to establish by common agreement the most urgent specific measures for the just solution of these problems.

We also believe it necessary that measures be taken to intensify trade relations among countries with different economic systems, to develop economic and technico-scientific cooperation among the developing countries, to strengthen the institutional mechanism of UNCTAD. We wish that through the joint efforts of all states, the proceedings of the Conference conclude with the most concrete results which should bear positively on the development and welfare of every nation.

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* 1970 (*Publishers' note*)

As far as Romania is concerned, she is inspired by the wish to cooperate actively with the other developing countries, members of the "Group of 77", with all the states, for the solving to general benefit of the problems on the agenda of the UNCTAD Session, for the building of a new international economic and political order which should ensure the independent development of each and every nation on the path of progress, welfare and happiness. (. . .) (244)

(. . .) The proceedings of the UNCTAD-IV Conference in Nairobi have revealed the developing countries' determination and concern for united action in order to judiciously solve the international economic issues. At the same time all this has revealed profound contradictions, determined by the opposition of the economically developed countries to take practical action for implementing new economic relations that should be truly equitable. Romania firmly supports the Programme adopted in Manila considering that its implementation could be an important step on the path to ensuring stable prices for raw materials, to establishing a correct ratio between the prices of raw materials and the prices of industrial products, on the path to bridging the gaps between states and setting up a new international economic order. It is in this spirit that our country has decided to take part in creating a joint fund for financing the setting up of raw material reserves with a view to strengthening stability of world prices. (. . .) (245)

(. . .) With a view to giving an impulse to the struggle for doing away with underdevelopment — one of the most serious problems of the contemporary epoch — I think that the holding of a UN Special Session on the new world economic order is of special importance. Such a session first requires that the developing countries should agree on a clear programme and a clear orientation. A UN committee should prepare such a session, and also the documents required as was the case with the session on disarmament.

The session will have to adopt a clear firm document establishing the principles, guidelines and ways for the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of international relations of a new type, based on full equality and equity. In my opinion, such a special session of the UN

might conclude with still better results than the recent* session on disarmament. (. . .)

(. . .) It is also necessary to ensure an enhanced role of the United Nations Organization, of other international organizations in the settlement of the present-day complex problems.

At present, these bodies provide the best organizational framework for the active participation of all states in the solving of the problems, for the strong assertion in the world of the principles of international law, of the policy of equality of all the countries of the world. (. . .) (246)

(. . .) Alongside other states Romania will work to make the next United Nations Special Session in 1980 devoted to the new international economic order to adopt a tangible programme of action for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the building of new inter-state relations, of a new international economic order. We shall do everything possible for the developing countries to have their say and be listened to in the world. (. . .) (247)

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* 1978 (*Publishers' note*)

VIII

For a New Approach of the Big Issues Confronting Mankind

(. . .) Life shows that there is a dialectical, organic link between ensuring the multilateral and rapid progress of each country, particularly of the lagging ones, and the intensification of world trade, of economic, technical and scientific exchanges and cooperation among nations. In our age, a number of crucial problems for development of human civilization can no longer be solved without the common effort of the nations, the conjugation of the material resources and scientific potential of an ever bigger number of states. (. . .) (248)

(. . .) At the same time, life requires of us to act more firmly for the development of free economic relations, without political discrimination or strings, and for the expansion of technological and scientific cooperation among all the peoples of our continent. There are many matters of common interest which have to be solved, such as, for example, transport, energy, water, pollution and others. (. . .) (249)

(. . .) Even the developed capitalist countries are interested in the settlement of these problems, considering that the complex economic phenomena confronting the states of the world can be solved not partially, but in the context of the general socio-economic development of all countries, of the entire mankind. (. . .) (250)

1. DISARMAMENT — AN IMPERATIVE DEMAND OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF ALL THE PEOPLES

(. . .) It must be obvious to everybody that the failure to achieve concrete understandings, the failure in passing to nuclear disarmament, will make also other states to seek in

their turn adequate forms for developing armaments, including nuclear armaments, which would intensify the arms race. Thus it is imperiously necessary to proceed to concrete steps in order to attain real disarmament and first of all nuclear disarmament, to troops reduction, to dismantling the foreign military bases and blocs, to cutting down armament budgets, so that the means appropriated today to arming could be used to an ever larger extent for the economic and social development of the states, for raising the peoples' welfare, for freeing mankind from the danger of a fresh devastating war. (. . .) (251)

(. . .) We cannot overlook the fact that, while hundreds and hundreds of millions of people live in hard underdevelopment conditions, in 1974, more than 250,000 million dollars were spent for the arms race, and that huge human forces, men of science, the most advanced technologies are placed in the service of the arms race. If only a part of these expenditures and human and scientific forces, of the successes of contemporary technique and knowledge were allotted to the solving up of the serious economic and food problems, mankind would be able to make huge progress.

That is why we consider that the efforts for putting a firm end to the arms race, for disarmament, and first of all for nuclear disarmament, should be intensified. (. . .) (252)

(. . .) The fact that in the world the arms race continues, that military expenditures are increasing, representing a heavy burden for all the peoples and increase the danger of war greatly contributes to the aggravation of these negative phenomena.(. . .) (253)

(. . .) Pervaded with a high spirit of responsibility for the destiny of peace, our country firmly acts for the building of a new international economic order and the elimination of underdevelopment, for the establishment of really democratic inter-state relations based on equality and equity, for the ensurance of a large and free access of all peoples to the gains of modern civilization, for the creation of conditions which should favour the progress of all countries and first and foremost of the backward ones. (. . .) (254)

(. . .) We are firmly in favour of the materializing of the disarmament measures and first of all, of nuclear disarma-

ment, so that the huge expenses which are a burden for the peoples, should be directed towards the economic and social development, the wonderful achievements of contemporary technique and science should be placed in the service of the progress, civilization, welfare and happiness of all nations.

Nowadays mankind is facing one of the fundamental problems of its development, namely the liquidation of underdevelopment — the result of the imperialist and colonialist policy — for the establishing of a new international economic order. (...) (255)

(...) Starting from the necessity to build a better world, a world with more justice, and to secure peace, we believe that resolute action must be taken in view of disarmament, and first of all nuclear disarmament. (...) (256)

(...) The struggle for building European security should indeed be focussed on passing to tangible measures of military disengagement and disarmament without which peace in Europe and in the world cannot be achieved. It can be said that the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament concluded with certain positive results. A more democratic organizational framework has been provided for the debate and settlement of disarmament issues and the proposals by various states were adopted as working documents of the bodies set up under the UN aegis. It is essential now to pass to tangible disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament in the first place. As I have said at the recent meetings* with the working people and at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee mere declarations of good intent are not enough to ensure peoples' peace and security. It is necessary to switch over most resolutely to tangible and efficient measures for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament first of all.

At the United Nations Special Session Romania advanced an aggregate of proposals meant to stimulate disarmament actions in Europe and the world over. Important proposals in this respect were also advanced by other socialist countries, just as by numerous other states members of the UN. We think that we should start with the freezing of the military expenditures, effectives and weapons at the level of

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* 1978 (*Publishers' note*)

1978 and then reduce them gradually by at least 10—15 per cent of the current levels in a first stage until 1985. Taking into account the huge stockpiling of weapons on our continent — which, as both sides have said more than once, is enough to destroy the whole Planet several times over — the only rational solution is that all states, the big powers first of all, cease allocating any further financial means to increase their military potential. Similarly, particularly important would be the commitment not to locate more troops and weapons on the territories of other states and to start reducing and eventually withdrawing all foreign troops to their national territories, dismantling the military bases, the nuclear ones first of all, from the territories of other states, as well as the pledge by all not to locate foreign military bases on their territories. The reduction and cessation of military maneouvres, of any show of force in general in the vicinity of the national frontiers of other states is also highly necessary. The nuclear states should also commit themselves not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states, not to use any weapon at all, the conventional ones included. We consider that the efforts should be intensified so that the Vienna talks may lead, on the basis of the proposals advanced by the socialist countries and by the capitalist countries, to understandings conducive to the reduction of effectives and weapons in the centre of Europe. We also attach particular significance to SALT II negotiations between the Soviet Union and the USA and we think that, although they have a limited character, their successful conclusion would positively influence detente in Europe and in the world.

Romania declares for the conclusion of an all-European pact, adhered to by all states participant in the Helsinki Conference, which should include the commitment to renounce the threat or use of force. We consider that the issues of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe must be approached in the general context of the actions for the translation into life of the Helsinki Final Act provisions, with the participation of all signatory states.

In our opinion, the socialist states should take new initiatives to promote new ways and modalities of attaining these targets. Just like in the past, this would indeed have a wide echo among the world public opinion, would give a strong impulse to the fight of the masses in Europe and the world over to make other governments too take similar steps.

Setting out from the pressing need for military disengagement in Europe, we declare for a continuous narrowing of the sphere of activity of the military blocs on the Continent, with a view to providing conditions for their concomitant dissolution. In this respect, it might be useful that a zone be established between the two blocs, where neither side should locate any armies and weapons or hold any military manoeuvres or demonstrations. We are convinced that if action is taken for lessening tension, for detente, disarmament and the concomitant abolition of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, a new war can be prevented, the peaceful development of the peoples in Europe and the world over can be ensured. As far as we are concerned, we shall spare no effort to contribute to the attainment of this goal! (. . .) (257)

(. . .) According to the decisions of the National Conference, the decision of the Central Committee of the Party, Romania submitted to the special session of the United Nations its stand concerning the transition to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament primarily. We hope that the special session, that turned into a strong manifestation of the peoples' will to halt the arms race while it is not too late, will adopt resolute measures meant to open the path to attaining the vital aspirations of the peoples, of their sacred right to live in peace.

I cannot but express our people's bewilderment at the decisions taken by NATO, at the very time of the session of the United Nations on disarmament, to increase, in the next ten years, military expenditures by 100 thousand million dollars. It is difficult to understand the reason of these decisions when the peoples are concerned with the immediate halting of the arms race. We consider that not increased military expenditures but their freezing is necessary at the level of 1978 and passing over, in the coming years, to a 10 to 15 per cent reduction of expenditures and also of armaments and armies. This corresponds to the demands and aspirations of all nations, including of those in the NATO. (. . .) (258)

(. . .) As regards the disarmament matters, we can say that the UN Session has concluded with certain positive results. Quite positive is the creation of a new, more democratic organizational framework, for debating and solving these

problems, that the documents containing proposals forwarded by various states have become working documents for the organisms created under the UN. Certainly the United Nations Session has adopted resolutions that are only general in character; the essential thing at present is that everything possible should be done to pave the way to real practical measures for general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. It would be a great mistake to consider that with the conclusion of the session, the peoples, the forces which stand for disarmament and peace can stay quiet and diminish their efforts aimed at attaining these desiderata. On the contrary, more than ever before, must we all intensify our activity for carrying into effect the proposals included in the resolutions of the UN Session, must we make more sustained efforts worldwide for passing onto disarmament. (. . .)

(. . .) We would consider as very positive and beneficially affecting the world political climate, if accords were reached at present which should provide for resolute steps to stop the arms race and to cut on the production of improved weapons, both nuclear and conventional. In general the peoples' supreme interests demand that disarmament measures should be firmly applied, that firm pledges of non-recourse to nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries should be taken and that the military arsenals and effectives, as well as arming expenditures should gradually be reduced.

As is known, Romania has put forth a set of concrete measures for further steps to be taken on these lines and for an impetus to be given to concrete, effective disarmament actions. We should all be aware that the perpetuation of the arms race greatly endangers the cause of the peoples' development on the road of progress and civilisation, socialist construction included, international peace and security. It is for these reasons, that we should think of initiating and carrying out new actions on an international plane in order to mobilize the advanced forces, all the peoples, towards disarmament. I think that international conditions at present favour a positive beginning in this respect. We should be more active, act more firmly to change these possibilities into reality. This accords with the interests of our nation, a builder of socialism, with the cause of socialism, world peace and civilization. (. . .)

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2. FOR A HUMANISTIC, SCIENTIFIC AND REALISTIC APPROACH OF THE PROBLEMS REGARDING POPULATION AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

(. . .) Setting out from the idea that Man is the aim and reason of every social activity, that population represents the supreme wealth of every country, we consider that the essential problems of the human condition should be examined and discussed as a major and essential demand of contemporaneity. One cannot ignore that a big part of the world population still continues to live in conditions of flagrant underdevelopment, as a result of the policy of oppression and domination, of the colonialist and neo-colonialist policy practised for tens and hundreds of years by the imperialist powers. In our opinion, a real solution of the population questions presupposes the bridging of the gaps between the advanced states and those lagging from the industrial point of view, the liquidation of the phenomenon of underdevelopment, the ensuring of the economic and social progress of all peoples.

Taking account of the close correlation existing between economic-social growth and demographical evolution, we attach — within the conditions and measures for solving the population problems — special importance to the observance of each people's sacred right to be master of its national resources, to ensuring all peoples' access to the gains of modern science and technology. Moreover, in our opinion, the population question should be approached in close connection with the task of consolidating peace throughout the world, of promoting the new course towards detente, understanding and cooperation among states.

In our conception, the population problems can find solutions in harmony with the demands of the development of human civilization only in the context of promoting new relations on a world plane that should exclude any manifestation of inequity and discriminatory practices, should guarantee the observance of national independence and sovereignty of all states, should offer to each country conditions for an active participation in international economic cooperation and — of course last but not least — should ensure an effective support to the efforts made by the peoples of the developing countries. (. . .) (260)

(...) Naturally, demographic policy and, in general, population development questions must be analysed contingent upon the historical, national, economic and social conditions in every country. Conclusions leading to the correct solving of the population questions can be drawn only by starting from concrete reality. The demographic map of the contemporary world presents a great variety. There are on our planet densely populated regions, as there are regions where the number of inhabitants in relation to the area and the existing resources is still very small. Considering the fact that the population question is the determining factor of every people's progress, every state has the sovereign right to promote that demographic policy and measures which it considers most suitable, consonant with its national interests, without any outside interference.

We consider that in tackling the population question one should necessarily proceed from the fact that man is the determining factor of economic and social progress. Hence, the entire organization of society, the general policy of states, must have as their supreme goal the welfare and happiness of the people, the guarantee of man's freedom and dignity, the development of his personality, the participation of the masses in making their own history. We also consider that demographic policy should take account of the necessity to ensure a normal ratio between age-groups in order to maintain permanently every nation's youthfulness and vitality, the creative energy and thinking power of every people.

In our opinion, in tackling the complex population questions one must bear in mind the necessity of continuously developing productive forces, on which the meeting of the peoples' life requirements and the general progress of society decisively depend.

In this context, ensuring a high rate of growth of the material assets production is of special importance for the way in which the population question is solved within every nation.

The growth of food production, a primordial question in the complex of general demographic policy, demands sustained efforts from every country, the earmarking of important means for the development and improvement of industry, the modernization of agriculture, for increasing the productivity of social labour. At the same time, it is necessary

to pay greater attention to protecting and preserving Nature, and the environment which, in the conditions of modern industrial civilization, is a factor of decisive importance for the evolution of mankind — both for the lives of our contemporaries and for the future generations.

Life demonstrates that the population questions must be analysed in close connection with the evolution of international relations, bearing in mind the reality that unequal and inequitable relations, of domination and oppression, are still maintained nowadays both on a national and international plane.

On analysing the population questions one cannot ignore the fact that an important part of mankind still lives in conditions of economic underdevelopment, the fact that hundreds of millions of people — more than one third of mankind — do not have elementary means of subsistence. Hundreds upon hundreds of million of people do not benefit even by a minimum of medical assistance, and illiteracy keeps in dark ignorance huge masses of people on vast areas of the globe.

The fact that some two thirds of the world population live in underdeveloped or developing countries, that the gaps separating many of these countries from the economically advanced states grow deeper instead of narrowing down is a tragic reality of the world today. Statistics drawn by the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies most convincingly illustrate the size of this gap. Early this decade, the per capita gross national product — a telling pointer of the peoples' material civilization degree — was of some 230 dollars in the developing countries compared to 3,085 dollars in the advanced countries, the ratio being of 1:13. In a series of countries considered "the least developed" — with some 150 million inhabitants — the per capita gross national product is of only 85 dollars, the gap separating them from the developed countries amounting to the ratio of 1:36.

In general, many peoples have not even the most elementary working and living conditions, while a number of states have reached a high economic development level underlying which are the gains of contemporary scientific and technological revolution. The division of the world into developed and underdeveloped countries is a result of the historical evolution, the direct consequence of the imperialist, colonial-

ist and neocolonialist policy of exploitation and oppression of many peoples. That is why it is evident that the population questions, the development prospects of various peoples and nations as well as of mankind as a whole, are directly linked to the abolition of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, to building a better and more just world, a society where man should fully enjoy the gains of contemporary civilization. More than ever before, firm actions are necessary for placing international relations on new principles — of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs — on the observance of every people's right to develop freely, in keeping with its aspirations. The population question is closely linked to the setting up of a new international economic order, to establishing economic relations on the principles of mutual advantage, to attaining a fair ratio between the prices of industrial products and of raw materials favouring a more rapid development of the countries lagging behind. (. . .)

(. . .) The demographic problems, the planned development of the population appear differentiated from one continent to another, from one country to another, some requiring a more marked growth of the population, while others, a diminution of its growth. It is up to every country, therefore, to find adequate solutions to these problems. An essential condition for solving the population question is the liquidation of underdevelopment, bringing closer together the development levels, creating relations of equity, equality and active cooperation among all continents and states of the world, the achievement of a lasting peace on our Planet. (. . .) (261)

(. . .) Of course, the question of population must be viewed in relation to the historic, geographical conditions of various continents and even of various states. In broaching this question one must set out, however, from the fundamental fact that man, hence population, constitutes the essential factor for civilization and for the whole future development of society. I consider that the problem of the so-called too fast population growth has been greatly exaggerated. (. . .) (262)

(. . .) The population problem is linked to the abolition of the policy of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination, to

the liquidation of the world's division into rich and poor countries, hence to the attainment of what is being spoken of throughout the world now — namely, the establishment of a new economic and political order. The population problem too, can be solved in this context. (. . .) (263)

(. . .) The industrial development has led to an agglomeration of people in certain zones, a fact which is a normal process to a given point. This process was manifest in Romania too, but naturally to a smaller extent. Bearing in mind the fact that a vast process of industrialization is going on in our country, hence a process of drawing a large number of citizens into industry, we intend to ensure a most rational distribution of industry on the country's territory, to create new urban areas so that the process of reducing the population active in agriculture should not lead to an excessive agglomeration of several towns but, on the contrary, to locate industrial centres in all the country's regions. In this way we think that we will succeed in providing more adequate conditions for a general upsurge of all the localities of Romania, of all regions. As a matter of fact, the Party's National Conference adopted a programme to this end which is to be implemented, on the whole, in the next 15—20 years. (. . .) (264)

(. . .) Taking an active part in international life, in the struggle for the promotion of a new policy of broad collaboration and cooperation among states, Romania supports any initiative or action meant to contribute to the rallying and intensification of the peoples' efforts for the constructive solving of the major issues of the world today, for ensuring mankind's progress and civilization. It is in this spirit that our country hailed with interest the initiative of convening and organizing the Conference on Human Settlements — the first world inter-governamental conference on the complex aspects of the life and prospects of the towns and villages in the contemporary world. I consider that this conference, one of the wide-scope events sponsored by the United Nations, can make a highly positive contribution to the discussion and exploration of the ways to solve problems with profound implications on the existence of the peoples, on the progress and civilisation of all mankind. Besides matters related to

food, energy, natural resources, population, science and technology, it brings into international discussion another important topic, which springs from the peoples' concerns with the building of a better and more just world.

Romania deems that the development of human settlements and their higher degree of civilization depend first of all on the own efforts of each country, on the way in which economic and social development of each people is realized, on how the capitalization is secured of its own material and human resources, on dissemination and best application of the scientific and cultural gains in the whole social life. At the same time, we consider that an important role in solving this issue and in the overall rise of the peoples' standard of civilization and welfare devolves on development and diversification of international cooperation, on the establishment of equitable relations of full equality among states underlain by the principles of observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-immixture in international affairs and mutual advantage, on the right of each and every people to fully master its destinies.

In Romania's concept the settlement of the problems related to the development of human settlements is indissolubly linked to an adequate solution in keeping with the legitimate interests and aspirations of all the peoples of the major issues contemporary mankind is faced with: elimination of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of inequality and domination, the carrying through of general disarmament, nuclear disarmament primarily, eradication of underdevelopment and of the world's division into poor and rich countries, establishment of a new world economic and political order and of new relations guaranteeing faster progress to each country and to the lagging ones in particular and facilitating all the peoples' broad and unhampered access to the gains of modern science and technique, of contemporary civilization.

The United Nations and its specialized agencies can actively back the efforts being made internationally in this respect by implementing special programmes and facilitating the exchange of experience, information, technical assistance just as contacts among experts. (. . .) (265)

3. INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE ACTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF RAW MATERIALS AND ENERGY

(. . .) The energy crisis preoccupies today all mankind, it has caused difficulties in many states, and undoubtedly had to a certain extent repercussions in Romania, too. I consider that it calls for adequate steps on a national scale for a more rational use of the various sources of energy. At the same time, however, the necessity arises for better understanding, particularly between the countries possessing oil and the countries lacking oil, so as to reach a settlement that takes into account a fairer relation between the price of oil and that of oil products, but at the same time secures their availability and use for mankind's general development. This would be in concordance with the interests of all countries, the oil-possessing countries included, with the interests of the general development and progress of mankind. (. . .) (266)

(. . .) I must state from the very beginning that the problem of raw materials and energy is not a new one. It has been a concern for a long time and the October military events in the Middle East did nothing else but unleash this crisis. Romania took active part in the UN special session convened upon the initiative of President Boumedienne. We consider that this meeting was only a beginning, that sustained efforts must be made for a just and enduring solution to the problem of raw materials and energy, of grounding on new bases the relations between the developed and the developing countries. As a matter of fact, the question of underdevelopment — and one could add of raw materials and energy — is the outcome of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, of the existence of inequitable relations among states, of unfair ratios between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial products.

In other words, the achievement of a new international economic — hence also political — order is necessary, based on new principles of equality, respect, mutual advantage. This presupposes the attainment of equitable ratios between the prices of industrial products and those of raw materials, which should favour the faster progress of the developing countries; it also presupposes the access, in equitable conditions, of the developing countries to modern technologies, with

a view to their industrialization, as also the access of all states, also in equitable conditions, to the resources of raw materials and energy.

In our opinion, the solutioning of the underdevelopment issue and of the problem of raw materials is a primordial factor for the future development of international relations, of the attainment of the novel policy of peace and international collaboration, on the basis of full equality among all world nations.

We consider that all world states should actively participate in the settlement of those problems, and the developing countries, Romania considering herself among them, should be much more active for helping seeking out just and correct solutions.

An essential condition for this is that the peoples take in their own hands their national riches and use them in their own interest, to the end of independent economic and social development. (. . .) (267)

(. . .) The present oil and power crisis is not brought about by the diminution of power and particularly of oil resources.

It must be said that in certain countries consumption has grown exaggeratedly, and generally speaking a policy of waste has been practised, of irrationally using oil and other power resources. Hence, in my opinion it is necessary first of all to introduce more order, both in each country and internationally in the rational use of power resources and of oil particularly. A closer cooperation between different countries is necessary, and generally between all the states of the world for the development of new power resources; it is also necessary to establish just and rational prices of power, oil and raw materials and, according to them, those of industrial and food products. (. . .) (268)

(. . .) The questions of oil, and generally of energy preoccupies today the whole of mankind. It would be difficult to say that the known deposits could not meet the requirements for a long time to come. In my opinion, it is, however, necessary first of all to better regulate the consumption, to remove waste, which would be to the advantage of the peoples from many points of view, including the avoidance of accentuated pollution. At the same time it

is necessary to step up researches, not only concerning the hydrocarbon deposits but also with a view to tapping and using fresh energy sources — which, in fact, has already started on an international plane. Romania has her own programme in this respect, is also interested in taking part in a number of ventures on an international plane in this field.

A speedier settlement of these problems calls for a broader international cooperation, for the use of knowledge acquired in this domain by a number of more developed countries, under appropriate understandings. So as not to affect the national sovereignty and interests of a country, these researches on an international plane have to be regulated by adequate understandings, setting out from the principles of international law, of equity, from the fact that the peoples have the right to be masters of all the national riches, and creating at the same time — as I have already said — the possibility for all nations of the world to have access to these riches under mutually advantageous conditions. (. . .) (269)

(. . .) There is no doubt that the emergence of these complex issues, the energy crisis and the economic crisis in general — brings about a situation characterized by instability, with inestimable repercussions on international life. I would like to speak to you openly about the way in which we understand the causes of this situation. We consider that things have come here because of the world's division into extremely developed countries, or — as they say — rich countries and extremely poor countries, undeveloped countries. The inequity in the international economic relations also contributed to this situation.

Therefore, in order to solve these serious problems we must put an end to the old state of affairs. It is necessary to pay particular attention to the liquidation of underdevelopment — a decisive factor of international stability. (. . .) (270)

(. . .) The problems of international economic life, just as the crisis phenomena in the field of raw materials, energy and food affect all the countries to a bigger or smaller extent. Therefore, all the nations are interested in seeking rational solutions to the improvement of the world economic situation.

It is obvious that the main causes which generated the negative state of affairs are the old imperialist, colonialist

and neo-colonialist policy, the old economic relations based on inequality, domination and oppression which divided the world into rich and poor countries, created big gaps in the economic development level of the states. Any perpetuation of this policy and these practices cannot but result in accentuated and stronger perturbations in international economic life, with most negative consequences on the living conditions of the peoples. (...) (271)

(...) An imperative of the new international economic order is the judicious solution of the raw material and energy issue, based on the observance of each people's right to freely administer its national resources and riches and also based on meeting the demands for raw materials of all countries, with a view to their economic and social development. In this domain it is also necessary to have a broad collaboration of the states for a superior harnessing of the existing resources, the elimination of waste and irrational consumption, the discovery of new resources for meeting the demands for progress of all mankind. (...) (272)

(...) There have been several questions referring to the serious phenomena generated in the world economy by the energy crisis, the raw materials crisis, the financial crisis as well to the ways for overcoming them. Indeed, the need to regulate the consumption of energy and raw materials has been a sharp problem in international life in recent years, given the fact that the natural resources of our planet are not inexhaustible, that they are irrationally used in the world, and that there are cases when they are wasted away. In our opinion, the energy and raw materials crisis has its roots in the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, in the economic relations of inequality and inequity among states, in the plunderous use of some countries' and peoples' national riches, as well as in the negative phenomena brought about by the so-called consumption society of the capitalist world, which has generated the unjustified waste of raw material and energy resources. That is why the settlement of these problems is closely linked to the setting up of a new world economic order, to the promotion of new relations among states, based on equality, national independence and mutual interest. Moreover, all countries should take firm steps for rationalizing the exploitation and use of natural

resources, for intensifying the joint research activity of all states to find new ways and means to increase the energy and raw material resources. As you know, Romania is firmly acting on this line, giving prominence to the problem of saving fuel and raw materials, this being a key problem of economic development, working together with other countries to find new sources of energy. (. . .) (273)

4. THE GREAT RESERVES OF INCREASING THE FOOD RESOURCES ON THE PLANET

(. . .) As is known, the problem of our planet's possibilities to ensure the existence of the population in its future evolution is more and more frequently discussed in the world today. One may often hear the pessimistic thesis according to which if the present population rate of growth is maintained, the exhaustion of subsistence resources, a general food crisis will shortly and inevitably be arrived at. The scientific surveys, the development programmes of numerous countries show, however, that the world still possesses huge unused reserves, that vast regions still exist on our planet where the resources have not yet been even explored, that the very subsoil deposits are very little known. Vast arid and desert regions still exist on Earth, which man's labour can render fertile, ensuring important additional food resources to the population. Science will reveal new food resources, and also increase soil fertility on the entire earth surface, which will allow for big quantities of additional plant and animal output for consumption. In many countries, the conditions of underdevelopment have resulted in the insufficient use of natural and human resources, and the low level of social labour productivity negatively bears on the growth of national wealth. Based on the gains of science, man, through his inexhaustible energy, the power of his creative genius, will ceaselessly transform Nature, forcing it to yield ever more fruits, ensuring new resources for meeting in ever better conditions the life requirements of all peoples.

The essential condition for attaining this prospect is the ever more intense development of the productive forces in every country, the maximum use by every people of its resources. This calls for a more judicious distribution of wealth among the populations on various meridians, the ac-

cess of all nations to contemporary science and technology, to the gains of modern civilization. The problem of the population's future is, therefore, linked to the multilateral, progressive development of human society, to a correct distribution of the national product and to the achievement of equitable social relations, both on a national and international plane, to the building of a better and more just world, in which man should fully enjoy the gains of science and his work. (...) (274)

(...) Within the framework of the new international economic and political order special attention has to be paid to the food problem. Drastic measures must be taken with a view to the more rapid growth of agricultural output, the harnessing of new resources, especially in the developing countries, the carrying out of vast irrigation operations, soil improvement and land reclamation, and the rapid development of the production of fertilizers and other chemicals which agriculture needs. At the same time sustained efforts must be made by scientists to produce new strains of highly productive seeds and of new livestock breeds acclimatized to the various zones in the developing countries. In this connection we believe that it is necessary for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to carry out a complex programme aimed at a more rapid solution of the food problem, which is of vital importance for the existence and the progress of all mankind. (...) (275)

(...) The food problem undoubtedly holds an important place, but we could hardly speak of a food crisis when huge possibilities do still exist for a substantial growth of farm-food output. This would presuppose a sustained programme of turning to good account the large resources — I am referring to the use of land expanses, the expansion of the output of fertilizers, as also to other measures. A continual growth of the agricultural and food production, for which practically almost unlimited conditions exist in today's situation, might be secured in this way.

The so-called food crisis — the same in fact as the energy crisis — is brought about by the lack of concern with improved organization of international relations, by the policy of profiteering that has not taken and still does not take account of the demands for a rational development of the

productive forces and of the resources of raw materials, the food resources included, in keeping with necessities of all peoples. (. . .) (276)

(. . .) The liquidation of the want of foodstuffs, of the current insufficient farm output, the ensuring of food to the entire population on the planet are an acute, topical objective, calling for adequate solutions in the interests of all nations. (. . .)

(. . .) We consider that the famine haunting large areas of the Earth, malnutrition, are the result of backward productive forces, low labour productivity and underdevelopment of a number of countries, consequences of the long colonial domination, of the old relations of inequity existing in the world. The solving of the food issue depends on the complete elimination of these states of affairs, on the observance of every people's sovereign right to control its national riches, the ensuring of conditions for every nation to capitalize completely and with utmost efficiency its material and human capabilities, to develop its productive forces, to have free access to the gains of the contemporary technico-scientific revolution.

The gravity of the food issue requires, for instance, that FAO — a UN agency specialized in this domain — should start approaching concrete measures, initiate a special programme for the development of general farm output and especially in the developing countries, so that within a few years the peoples' food problems should be most adequately solved. To this end, action is needed for the fructification of large expanses of land and of resources insufficiently exploited in the lagging countries. An important role would be played by the organization of programmes of irrigation and hydro-melioration, the development of the output of chemical fertilizers, farm machinery, the intensification of scientific research for the evolving of new more productive strains of plants and breeds of animals adaptable to the climate in the respective zones, with maximum results. At the same time the development is necessary of the output of weed-, insect- and pest-killers, within large drives of combating diseases with both plants and animals. Special attention will have to be paid, within these programmes, to moulding and training cadres of experts, farm mechanizers and labourers, to the agriculturally advanced countries giving technical and

technological assistance in farm output to the underdeveloped countries.

To implement these actions, the bilateral and multilateral inter-state cooperation has to be intensified in all domains of activity inclusive of the technico-scientific, swap of experience and farm practice and technology domains, on equitable and mutually advantageous bases.

As far as Romania is concerned, she is determined to actively participate in the carrying through of such a programme, to actively collaborate and cooperate with the developing countries for raising their production basis, for the resolution — the soonest — of the vital issue of peoples' food. (...)

(...) Romania considers that the food issue, the same as all big issues facing mankind today, which generate economic and political instability, phenomena of crisis, states of tension, can only be solved by the united action of the peoples for the establishment of a new economic and political order in international life, for the liquidation of the policy of domineering, dictate and interference in other countries' affairs, for the establishment of relations based on equal rights among states, as well as of just, equitable relations in world trade and cooperation, of fair ratios of the prices of raw materials to those of industrial products, in view of an ever more marked development of the lagging countries.

Romania considers that the stopping of the arms race, the cessation of the arming expenditures are huge sources of raising the peoples' well-being. The release of the material funds and of the forces of scientific research presently swallowed by the armament industry would contribute to a still more rapid solving of the food issue internationally. (...) (277)

(...) As part of the efforts for the establishment of a new international economic order special attention should be paid to the urgent solving of the world food crisis, by developing farm output in all the countries of the world, especially in the developing ones, by means of including in the agricultural circuit all untilled areas, increasing per-hectare yields, raising the degree of technical and chemical endowment of agriculture, applying to production the latest results of agricultural science and technology. (...) (278)

(. . .) The serious problems a considerable part of the globe's population is faced with are brought about by economic and social inequality, by the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist policy of oppressing other peoples. Hence, in the settlement of these questions one must proceed to liquidating inequality, the policy of domination and oppression. A firm policy is required for the liquidation of underdevelopment, for raising the cultural level of the population on all the continents.

In this way the food problem too can be solved, in terms of turning to account the natural resources, of raising agricultural and food production, for which particularly big possibilities exist on our Planet. I consider that resolute actions are needed on the part of all the peoples for the elaboration of a programme in this respect, which should enjoy a much more powerful support from the developed countries. Measures would be necessary for the allocation of a much bigger part from the present arming expenditures for supporting the programmes of developing and raising agricultural and food production. (. . .) (279)

5. THE EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER OF THE PROBLEM REGARDING THE USE OF THE SEAS AND OCEANS

(. . .) The question of the limits of territorial waters is actually more complex and the situation in each part of the world should be taken into account. In the Black Sea, for instance, a 200 mile limit would be hardly possible. We speak up for the conclusion of adequate agreements, which should consider the interests of the respective states so as to secure the use of territorial waters for the purposes of economic and social development.

Hence, we have supported the wish of those states declaring for the extension of the limits of territorial waters, where appropriate conditions exist.

However, an understanding which should consider the demands for peaceful cooperation and expansion of collaboration among peoples and states in all domains is no doubt necessary. (. . .) (280)

(. . .) The U.N. can and must make its contribution to the equitable settlement of the use of seas and oceans, taking into account the fact that the tendency of unilateral expansion of the rights of some states over the planetary ocean, which in fact is liable to become a territorial expansion, may give rise to a number of serious, conflicting problems in international life, may lead to the sharpening of the contradictions and the worsening of tension in the world. It is necessary that in settling this problem one should start from the principle that the seas and oceans be further part of the international patrimony of mankind, they should serve the interests of all peoples, the cause of collaboration and peace. (. . .) (281)

IX

Processes and Trends in the World Arena. The Inevitable Triumph of the Efforts Made for the Building of the New International Economic and Political Order

1. INTENSIFICATION OF THE TENDENCIES TO RE-DIVIDE THE WORLD INTO SPHERES OF DOMINATION AND INFLUENCE

(. . .) One might say that, for the first time since World War II, we see a strong intensification of the struggle for a new re-distribution of the world, of the areas of influence, of the struggle waged by various states and groups of states to acquire new, dominant positions. This struggle has actually never stopped; it is a typical feature of the imperialist era. But, one can say that it has now entered a new stage which leads to the extreme sharpening of contradictions between various states and groups of states, aggravating the international situation and creating the danger of new conflicts and wars.

All means are used in the policy for the re-division of the world — peaceful and non-peaceful means, economic as well as military means, including interference in the domestic affairs of the peoples, the setting of one state against the other, the direct or indirect stimulation of tension and even of military conflict between various countries. It is to be expected that the struggle for the new division of the world and the cantradictions between states, stemming from thiss struggle will become sharper, causing serious threats to the independent economic and social development of the peoples, and to the peace and security of all mankind.

This development has triggered a strong reaction on the part of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, of the peoples which are determined to oppose a new division of the world, of the areas of influence and domination, and which voice their firm determination to defend by all means

their independence and sovereignty, their independent development.

The struggle between these two diametrically opposed trends in the world is one of the fundamental features of contemporary social development. The gigantic clash between these two trends is not linear; it takes, we may say, a zigzag course recording victories as well as certain insuccesses of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces. (. . .) (282)

(. . .) It is true that these transformations are not made without difficulties. To win independence, to secure free development the peoples have to wage staunch fights against the reactionary forces that wish to stop the progressive course of history. There are still manifest in international life strong tendencies of maintaining the old state of affairs. We witness sharpening contradictions between various states and groupings of states, intensifying activities to maintain or redivide the world into zones of influence and domination. A return to the colonialist policy or at least to neo-colonialism is attempted under various pretexts. (. . .) (283)

(. . .) First of all, I would like to mention that we are deeply worried about the tension existing in the relations among various states in Africa, about the interference in Africa's affairs by states on other continents. This creates the danger of new conflicts, endangers the independence of the African peoples, opens the path to the policy of strength, of the colonialist policy. We declare against any immixture in Africa's affairs considering that the African peoples must peacefully solve their problems by means of negotiations, by strengthening their solidarity and collaboration and by securing their independence and sovereignty.

I consider that Africa should not be a reason for confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America or between any other states. (. . .) (284)

(. . .) As we have already pointed out on several occasions, we have been witnessing of late a sharpening of contradictions in international life, an intensification of the tendencies towards redividing the zones of influence and strengthening one's domination in various parts of the world. One can say that these contradictions and tendencies are closely connected with the economic crisis, the monetary and

energy crisis, which have brought about a difficult situation in a number of states as well as with the fact that the attempts to overcome the crisis have not yielded the results expected yet. (. . .)

(. . .) As the western press comment, although it has been asserted that certain agreements have been reached, in fact no ways could be found or taken to overcome the consequences of the crisis which are strong enough in those countries, very much as in other countries of the world, and which also affect the socialist countries. This is due to the fact that numerous economic contradictions among the developed capitalist countries are particularly strong and each of those countries acts with a view to consolidating its dominant positions in various parts of the world while securing as many advantages as possible for itself through collaboration.

We can say that, at present we are faced with two main world tendencies in the policy of domination and redivision of the zones of influence: on the one hand, tendencies towards recourse to force, to military ways, for the promotion of domination interests, for obtaining or consolidating the zones of influence and, on the other hand, the tendency to use, in the main, the economic means, in various forms, for strengthening the domination of monopolies and multinational societies, for consolidating the influence of certain states in various regions of the world. In practice, both ways are actually used. No doubt, the more dangerous for the peoples, for their peace and independence, is the use of force, of military means, for the purpose of promoting the domination policy. But, we cannot say that the other way, of using economic means, is not a danger to the peoples' independence. But assessing the situation objectively, the recourse to force, the use of military ways are the main danger in international life today. (. . .)

(. . .) With regard to the tendencies towards the redivision of the spheres of influence and domination in the contemporary world, I think it is interesting to analyse how various capitalist countries act in this respect. It seems that, after its defeat in Vietnam, the United States of America has come to the conclusion that, under the present circumstances, the military alternative is not to the best advantage of the policy of domination and, that is why, it is placing the main stress on the economic means in the promotion of that policy. Certainly, the USA has the economic means to promote its

interests on an international scale. This line is obvious with other states, too. But there are also countries that choose to use the military force to promote their interests, and this position is also due to their lower economic level. (...)

(...) As regards the struggle for liquidating underdevelopment and for building a new international order, we must admit that the results obtained so far are not very good. The Development Decade and the North-South talks marked no progress on that way. It is in this framework that the wish of the developed capitalist countries to impose their points of view and preserve their domination became more evident. (...) (285)

2. THE CHANGE OF THE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES IN FAVOUR OF THOSE WHO DECLARE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE OF THE EXISTING ORDER

(...) Unprecedentedly strong social forces are operating on all the continents — the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the middle sections, the broad masses of women, the youth, and various other social categories — which come out ever more resolutely for a new policy, a policy of social progress, for a new way of solving problems, for the establishment of a new international economic and political order. (...) (286)

(...) In these conditions it is necessary for all honest-minded people, all progressive and democratic currents and movements to unite their forces and to firmly act for the political settlement of the issues facing mankind today, in the interest of improving international climate, of expanding cooperation among peoples, of the cause of world security and peace. (...) (287)

(...) The upsurge of the revolutionary, progressive, anti-imperialist struggle everywhere has brought about deep changes, which go on deepening, in the world balance of forces. The main direction of these mutations consists in the assertion of the peoples' will to put an end to the old imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and to take

their destinies in their own hands, becoming the masters of their national wealth and of their own future. An essential part in determining these changes is being played by the socialist countries, which — through the successes they are scoring in the process of building up a new social system and through their foreign policy focussed on peace and cooperation — exert an ever increasing influence upon the whole historical evolution of the present-day world. At the same time, an important impact is being exerted by the national liberation movements, as well as by the developing countries, which have done away with imperialist, colonial domination and are taking firm action to secure their independent economic and social advancement. (...) (288)

(...) I should like to mention the fact that the changes that continue to take place in the world are ever more favourable to the progressive, anti-imperialist forces, to the peoples that stand for the elimination of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, that fight for independence and sovereignty, that desire to be free and masters on their destiny, and build the life they desire to live. (...) (289)

(...) The great political changes and revolutionary social and national transformations in international life, the deep mutations in the world balance of forces provide ever more favourable conditions for the peoples' struggle to abolish the imperialist colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, every form of domination and inequality, so as to secure every people's right to freely and independently build a future of prosperity and happiness.

The complete eradication of the entirely anachronical and condemnable policy of racial discrimination and apartheid calls for intensified efforts of the entire international community, of all the forces devoted to the cause of peace, liberty, independence, equality and mutual respect among nations. (...) (290)

(...) As a general tendency, I consider that the peoples of Asia realize ever better the need for pursuing an independent policy, deciding by themselves on the way of their development, removing any immixture in internal affairs.

The same can be said of Africa, a continent in full swing of development, where the fight still continues for the complete liquidation of colonialism, of the racialist policy, of neo-colonialism, and where the fight for the consolidation of national independence, for the strengthening of the peoples' unity grows more intense. I consider that in spite of the difficult problems still existing on that continent, the general trend is toward free and independent development of the African peoples, of Africa, toward eliminating any outside immixture in the continent's affairs.

The same tendencies are manifest in Latin America, which declares for a new policy, especially in the relations with the United States. All this confirms what I have mentioned before, namely that the prevailing course on all continents is of affirmation of a new policy, of national independence, of equal collaboration, of removing any form of oppression and immixture in the peoples' home affairs. (...) (291)

(...) Deep-going national and social changes have come about in international life, in the balance of forces — a fact which create a new situation, characterized by the assertion of the peoples' will to put an end for ever to the imperialist and colonialist policy, to be master of their national wealth, of their own destiny. It must be said that a number of good results have been obtained along this line, although many problems still have to be solved, particularly those related to under-development and to the building of the new international economic order. (...) (292)

(...) A scientific analysis of contemporary world developments in the spirit of historic and dialectical materialism strongly demonstrates that the progressive social forces take an ascending course, that they are winning new and important preponderent positions, that they are becoming ever more powerful and influential. They certainly represent the force that is capable of completely abolishing the imperialist policy of the world re-distribution into areas of influence and domination, of curbing the arms race and solving economic, social and political anomalies which feed and sharpen the crisis, and of promoting a new, democratic policy in the world, based on social justice and equity, of ensuring peace on our Planet. More than ever before is it necessary to

strengthen the solidarity and cooperation of all the progressive forces, of all the peoples advocating the progressive development of mankind, peace and collaboration. The fundamental interests of mankind, of civilization itself, demand that the struggle for an end to the dangerous rush of events towards a catastrophe, towards the brink of war, be intensified, before it is too late. (. . .) (293)

(. . .) As regards the international situation, we are indeed witnesses to a certain tension, owing to the accentuation of contradictions, of the policy of redividing the world into zones of influence. The clouds heralding an oncoming storm also gather because of the arms race, because two thirds of mankind are underdeveloped and of other problems that are still unsolved. Hence, for ensuring a course toward détente, all states have to act for the settlement of these problems, for building the new economic order, for general disarmament, nuclear disarmament primarily. Everything has to be done for respecting the independence and sovereignty of all states, the right of each nation to independently decide its development path, without any outside interference.

It is my firm conviction that in spite of the present situation, the forces speaking for co-operation and peace are able to and will surmount this state of affairs and see to the development of international life on the path of co-operation and peace! (. . .) (294)

(. . .) The analysis of the international balance of forces, of the great changes taking place in the world today shows that, in spite of an accentuated imperialist policy of domination, dictate and redivision of the zones of influence, one cannot say that the situation in the world develops towards an inevitable military confrontation, towards a world war. On the contrary, the deep-going revolutionary social and national changes taking place in the world prove that by concerted action, the forces of socialism and progress, the peoples can prevent the outbreak of another world war, can ensure a lasting peace on our planet.

We consider that the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, the other progressive and democratic forces have a decisive part in developing the positive trend in international life as their historic mission is to build a world of social and national justice, of equality among

peoples, of fruitful and friendly cooperation among all the nations in the world. (. . .) (295)

(. . .) In order to bring about correct and enduring solutions to these problems it is necessary to secure an active participation of all states in international affairs and to step up co-operation among them in all fields, to expand the exchanges of material and spiritual assets, to deepen the mutual knowledge of the great social, cultural and artistic achievements, always starting from the truth that each people, regardless of size, makes its own original contribution to the treasurestore of universal civilization. (. . .) (296)

(. . .) We are setting out from the fact that it is only by actively promoting international co-operation, based on the principles of equal rights, respect of each country's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, that the progress of each and every country and world peace and security can be ensured. In this spirit we believe that it is more necessary than ever to step up the efforts of all states and of all peoples, big, medium-size or small, in order to prevent an aggravation of the world climate, to banish the use of force and the threat of force from international relations and to establish such an international atmosphere that would ensure to each people proper conditions for free, independent development, without any outside interference. (. . .) (297)

(. . .) In opposition to the tendencies to redivide the zones of influence and domination, a new policy is ever more strongly asserting itself, a policy of collaboration among states, on the basis of complete equality of rights, of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, of non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual advantage, the only policy that can ensure a democratic evolution of world political life, relations of friendship and collaboration among all nations, the consolidation of general security and peace. It is clear that the progressive, revolutionary forces, the socialist countries, must support this policy, must do their best to impose and generalize it at world scale. As concerns Romania, she is firmly engaged on this line and she will spare no effort in the future either for the establishment of a new, really equitable and democratic policy in international life. (. . .) (298)

3. THE IMPERATIVE OF STRENGTHENING THE SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF ACTION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(...) We know both from our own experience and also from the experience of the revolutionary national liberation movements all over the world that the strengthening of the unity and collaboration among all progressive and liberation forces — on a national and on an international plane — is the only guarantee of the victory of the liberation struggle. That is why we deem it necessary for the national liberation movements, for the progressive forces in each country to find the way for consolidating their unity and collaboration, in order to have the guarantee of winning full victory.

In Africa, just as on other continents, the imperialist and colonialist domination has left many problems unsolved. The peoples should find the ways to overcoming these difficulties on the basis of understanding and collaboration, they should avoid everything that can disunite them and can prevent the strengthening of their unity. It is therefore in the interest of the African peoples as well, to consolidate their unity in all fields, to act in close collaboration for their socio-economic development and the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty. (...) (299)

(...) We know that a powerful revolutionary trend is developing in Latin America meant to ensure the progress of the Latin American peoples. We are convinced that, by acting in close unity, together with all progressive forces everywhere, the peoples of Latin America, just like the peoples of other continents, shall win full victory and become sole masters of their national wealth, and will be able to build their life and their future in keeping with their own will. (...) (300)

(...) Efforts are also needed for the strengthening of the solidarity of the developing countries, with a view to abolishing underdevelopment and building a new international economic order. (...) (301)

(...) We consider that in the present circumstances, the strengthening of solidarity and an ever closer cooperation of

the developing countries is needed, the more so as, the developed capitalist countries are to meet in May* to show their stand toward the questions of the new international economic order. The more necessary is for the developing countries to meet, to find the ways for strengthening their solidarity, for establishing the principles and forms of struggle in order to obtain better results at the negotiations with the developed countries, and be able to obtain real progress for the building of the new international economic order, based on equity and full equality of rights. (. . .) (302)

(. . .) I can't help (. . .) mentioning again, in this framework, the preoccupation of Romania, of all developing countries for a new policy, for putting an end to underdevelopment and inequality among nations. The more so as the developed countries often meet — they are to meet again in May to discuss how to act toward the developing countries, and to be frank, I don't expect them to willingly meet half way the developing countries. That is why we think that the developing countries as well, should consolidate their sodarity, they should meet to establish their stand, in order to negotiate and obtain good results in the relations with the developed countries.

With the strengthening of the unity on a home and national plane in each country, we must do everything for consolidating the solidarity and unity of the developing countries, of the progressive forces, for obtaining a new-type international democratic policy, the building of a new economic order, for achieving peace, which should ensure to each people the right to a free life. I will just mention the fact that we have visited many African countries (. . .) and everywhere I noted, in Africa as well, the desire for unity, the desire for the abolition of underdevelopment, the desire of the peoples of Africa, which had to suffer so much, for winning complete freedom and be able to build the life they desire. We entirely back this righteous struggle and we are sure that the peoples of Africa, as well as the peoples of the other continents will come out victorious in this struggle. (. . .) (303)

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* 1977 (*Publishers' note*)

(. . .) As a socialist country and also as a developing country, Romania actively participates in the struggle for the abolition of underdevelopment, for the building of a new international economic order. We think it necessary to strengthening the solidarity and active collaboration of all developing countries, to convene a meeting in which they should establish the ways of action for achieving a real progress on the way of development and the building of a new economic order, based on equity and justice. (. . .) (304)

(. . .) Taking into account the imperative that the developing countries should strengthen their solidarity, should take a joint stand and act in an organized way for defending their own interests, and considering that developed countries decided to meet again in May in order to coordinate their stands, it would be opportune, in our opinion, to organize a conference of the developing states, maybe in collaboration with the non-aligned countries. As a matter of fact, as we have already said, the major interests of the struggle for doing away with underdevelopment and for building a new economic order require a close collaboration among the developing and non-aligned countries, most of which are developing economically, as well as joint actions for settling the problems of their ever more rapid economic and social progress and for the building of a new policy, of a new economic order in the world. (. . .) (305)

(. . .) We also consider that everything has to be done to avoid conflicts and clashes among the African states because such developments can only lead to profound damage to their national interests, to the independence and sovereignty of their peoples; they only serve the imperialist circles, opening the way to interference in their internal affairs and hampering their economic and social progress, their advance to welfare and happiness. (. . .) (306)

(. . .) We are greatly worried that zones of tension have appeared on the African continent. It is a reality that imperialism and colonialism have left numerous complicated problems in Africa, but they must be solved by peaceful means, avoiding conflicts and clashes, which would seriously damage the respective countries, all African peoples and would make possible foreign intervention. It is in the interest

of all African states to work so that any litigious problem between them should be solved by way of negotiations, and understanding, so as to ensure the strengthening of their unity, their free development along the road of progress, prosperity and peace. (...) (307)

(...) We believe that given the present conditions, far more energetic action internationally is needed so that the southern African peoples should get liberated as soon as possible and an end be completely put to any encroachment upon the African peoples' freedom and their legitimate national rights, to any form of domineering or foreign immixture in their domestic affairs. In this sense we consider that the Organization of African Unity has a remarkably important role to play in strengthening the solidarity and unity of the countries on that continent, in overcoming some complex problems which go back to the period of colonialist oppression, in promoting the cause of Africa's full liberation. According to our conviction, attainment of such goals requires persevering promotion of a political, peaceful settlement of all the issues that may arise among the African countries consequent to the imperialist policy of divisiveness and oppression and help for the constructive efforts made in this regard. (...) (308)

(...) It is true that a series of divergencies have occurred between the developing countries, the non-aligned ones as well, divergencies used for dividing them, for increasing the foreign influence on them, on various regions. The most eloquent example in this respect is offered by Africa, where suchlike problems led to armed conflicts, to foreign military intervention — fact which creates great dangers for the African peoples' security and independence, for peace in general. We consider that, of fundamental importance for the faster economic and social progress of the developing countries is both the enhancement of their collaboration and solidarity and the strengthening of the unity of all national forces in view of firmly defending their independence and sovereignty, carrying through new democratic reforms, channelling the respective peoples' resources and energies to developing the productive forces and raising the standard of living. (...) (309)

4. THE ROLE OF THE "GROUP OF 77" AND OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN INTENSIFYING THE BUILDING OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

(. . .) The non-aligned countries, the developing countries and, in general, the small and medium-sized countries have a growingly important role in international life, setting out from the fact that most of them, practically all of them, speak up for new relations, based on equality, mutual respect, the right to organize their life as they wish to, without any outside interference.

There is no doubt that in these conditions the United Nations Organization provides a good framework for their active participation in the settlement of all international issues. One might say that this year's* April Session of the U.N. in connection with the problems of raw materials and of underdevelopment, has demonstrated once again the necessity for the developing countries to work more firmly — together with all states — for the realization of a new international economic and political order, for a just ratio between the prices of raw materials and the prices of industrial products which should favour a faster development of the underdeveloped countries, should secure their faster progress. (. . .) (310)

(. . .) An important role in this direction must be played by the small and middle-size countries, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries, which should strengthen their solidarity and act more firmly on the international plane, for a better and more just world, for a world of peace and international cooperation. (. . .) (311)

(. . .) As for Romania's future activity as a member of the "Group of 77" it surely derives from the common orientations set at Manila with regard to stepping up the fight for the establishment of the new world economic order, for the building of new economic relations between the developing and the developed countries favouring the former's progress. Likewise, I deem that highly important in the future will be a more intense cooperation between Romania and the

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* 1974 (*Publishers' note*)

developing countries, a more active mutual assistance between them — as this factor will substantially help the implementation of the developing countries' projects of progress and welfare. (...) (312)

(...) Romania is permanently concerned about finding the most adequate forms of collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries, with the non-aligned countries — almost all of which are developing countries — with a view to intensifying both the national and the international efforts, to bridging the economic gaps. It is in this spirit that our country's participation should be understood in the work of the Group of 77; this participation expresses Romania's deep interests that a new policy should be promoted in the world, in international relations, a policy that should secure the more rapid progress of all the countries and primarily the progress of those lagging behind. As is known, Romania is not the only socialist country which belongs to this Group; Yugoslavia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba also participate in the work of the Group of 77. At present the Group of 77 actually includes 110 countries with a total population amounting to over 1,860 million inhabitants, thus it has become a huge world political force. Yet on account of their low standards of development, these countries have only a 12.6 per cent share in the gross product obtained on a world scale — with points to their limited participation in the international division of labour. Of those countries, 40 obtain a national income of up to $ 200 per capita, 41 countries between $ 201 and $ 500 and only 17 countries have a national income between $ 501 and $ 1,000 per capita and some 10 countries above 1,000. At the same time, 20 economically developed capitalist states possess some 65 per cent of the world gross product. It is self-evident that such striking inequality cannot be accepted, cannot last indefinitely without causing great complications in international life. (...) (313)

(...) As is known, Romania entertains broad relations with all non-aligned countries and has shown its preoccupation to take part, in one form or another, in the meetings and activity of the non-aligned movement. This has led to the decision passed in Colombo to invite Romania to participate in non-aligned activities on a permanent basis. In our

opinion, this is a significant step in the non-aligned movement's approach to the questions concerning its orientation and tasks primarily to provide a setting to discuss the basic issues of concern to mankind today with the widest possible participation. The broad approach of the non-aligned movement to the issues of disarmament, of the new international economic order, to some litigious issues — such as the Middle East issue, too — proves that the Conference, and the non-aligned movement in general, are precisely aimed at solving, in a new democratic form, the complex issues of the contemporary world with the broad participation of all states and peoples. It is in this respect that we consider the non-aligned movement to have an important role to play in the affirmation of the new principles of equality and respect among states, in the participation of all countries in the settlement of international questions. (. . .) (314)

(. . .) In 1976, Romania also scored important successes, in point of expanding her relations with the developing countries, this being materialized among other things, by Romania's joining this group. As a socialist country and as a developing country, we have strengthened solidarity with these countries, acting along the line of finding the ways for doing away with underdevelopment, for the achievement of a new economic and political order, apt to permit a more rapid progress of these states, simultaneously making a contribution to the general economic balance, to the creation of conditions for the progress of all nations. This year, we attended for the first time — as guests — the conference of the non-aligned countries, likewise considering this as a manifestation of the solidarity of the peoples, which are acting along the line of the entrenchment of some new-type democratic relations in the world. Next year, of course, we shall pay great attention to these questions. We deem it necessary that the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organizations devoted to the questions of underdevelopment, due to take place in the first part of next year, should be thoroughly prepared and materialize in the endorsement of some practical measures, along the line of supporting the developing countries. It is to the interest both of the developed countries, of the socialist countries and of the developing countries, that firm action be taken, in view of jointly working out the solutions for putting an end

to underdevelopment, building the new economic order; without first settling these problems the future progress of any state is unconceivable. (...) (315)

(...) I consider it particularly necessary that special attention be paid to the problems of building the new international economic order. In this connection, the non-aligned countries — most of them developing countries — have an important role to play. At the same time, I consider it necessary that a closer collaboration be established between the group of developing countries and the non-aligned countries, so that they should act together with a view to attaining this target of decisive importance for the general economic and social progress, for world peace. (...) (316)

(...) Taking into account these changes in international life, Romania considers that the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries, the non-aligned countries have a growingly important role to play in the world arena — a role which they can play if they act in solidarity and are determined to have their say. Even under the conditions when the big powers are an important factor in international life, they cannot decide for the small and medium-sized countries, for other peoples; hence, there is a real possibility for the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries to play an ever more active role in the accomplishment of a democratic policy, of a more just and better world, that should permit each nation, regardless of size, to organize its life in concordance with its will. (...) (317)

(...) It is a fact of the present political life that the non-aligned countries — most of them developing — play an increasingly important role in the international arena. Romania actively participates in the non-aligned movement as an invited guest. She develops broad relations with these countries considering that they represent an outstanding force in the anti-imperialist struggle, that they are keely concerned with the promotion of a new policy of full equality and equity, in defence of national independence and sovereignty. Forming an important part of the countries of the world, the non-aligned states work as a democratizing factor of international relations, and assert themselves ever more strongly

in the solving of the major issues of today. We consider necessary that everything possible should be done for the settlement of the disputes among these countries for the continuous consolidation of their unity. We consider the recent* Belgrade Meeting of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries succeeded in establishing a programme of action to enhance these countries' role in international political life. This is of decisive importance for increasing the role and contribution of the non-aligned countries to the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, for social progress, peace and security throughout the world. (. . .) (318)

5. THE NEED FOR A MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT GRANTED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THE COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT, THE DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

(. . .) As is known, the economic gap between the advanced countries and the developing states continues to widen. It is therefore most important that the communist parties work for the narrowing of this gap so that the necessary support be given to those states in their struggle for economic and social progress. (. . .) (319)

(. . .) Contemporary international life also sets to the CMEA, to its member-countries, to all socialist countries, the target of promoting broadly the relations of economic and technico-scientific collaboration with the developing countries, with all states that have embarked on the road of independent economic and social development, ready to take their national riches into their own hands, to do everything for filling the gap which separates them from the economically advanced countries and which is the consequence of the long imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. The collaboration with these countries complies with the general principles of foreign policy of the socialist countries, as an expression of the solidarity with their fight for

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* 1978 (*Publishers' note*)

economic, social and national emancipation, of backing their development on the road of progress, as an internationalist contribution to the cause of anti-imperialist struggle on a world-wide level. The close collaboration with these countries acquires today overwhelming importance for mankind's general progress, for the cause of détente and peace in the world. The intensification of the general efforts for the liquidation of underdevelopment is of cardinal importance in contemporary world, as it is on this that depend the very progress of the advanced countries, the harmonious evolution of the whole human society, the creation of conditions for removing the causes of international tension and animosity, for detente, security and peace. This is precisely why Romania promotes unabatedly a consistent policy of friendly cooperation and solidarity with all states which develop independently, makes her active contribution to the cause of their advancement in a climate of truly equitable international relations. (. . .) (320)

(. . .) Of course, in the solution of all these problems we cannot ignore the international economic situation and the trends manifest in world economy. There is no doubt that these phenomena do not stop and cannot stop at the borders of the socialist countries; to a larger or smaller extent, they also bear on these countries' development. Generally, while taking active part in the international division of labour, the socialist countries cannot stay passive vis-à-vis these problems; they have to take direct part in the solving of the complex problems of today's world, in the grounding of international relations on new principles and in the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity and fully equal rights.

In this context, the relations among the CMEA member-countries, the relations among socialist countries, in general, must turn into a model of new economic relations among states with genuinely equal rights. In the present-day world situation, as part of the efforts for settling the complex international economic problems upon a new basis, cooperation among socialist countries will thus be a live example, an active factor in the struggle for the elimination of the former state of affairs and inequitable relationships, for the assertion of the new principles and the triumph of the new international economic and political order. (. . .) (321)

(. . .) One of the particularly complex issues of concern to mankind today and to whose settlement, the young generation can and must make an important contribution together with the people's masses, the advanced forces everywhere is the liquidation of underdevelopment still prevailing in a great part of the world and to the establishment of a new international economic and political order, founded on equality and equity allowing for a faster development of all countries, the lagging ones in particular, and favouring each people's broad access to the gains of modern science and technology. (. . .) (322)

(. . .) We look upon the notion of international solidarity in the context of the huge revolutionary changes which have swept the world; this causes it to comprise both the unity of socialist countries, of the communist and workers' parties, of the working class and the support to the national liberation movements, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against underdevelopment, for the building of a new international economic order, for the accomplishment of disarmament, for the observance of the right of each people to be master of its own destinies. We are entitled to state that the notion of internationalism implies nowadays an active participation in the democratic settlement, in accordance with the interests of each people, of all the complex problems of the modern world, as well as the strengthening of militant solidarity with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, while taking into consideration and safeguarding the interests of each nation, and serving, on that basis, the general interests of socialism, social progress and peace. (. . .) (323)

(. . .) At the same time, we believe that greater efforts must be made worldwide so that adequate agreements be reached together with the developed countries which should open up the path to new relations underlain by equality and reciprocal benefit. At the same time, I consider that the socialist countries can play a more important role in elimination of underdevelopment and the struggle for the engineering of a new world economic order. (. . .) (324)

(. . .) Romania being a developing socialist country herself, we also wish that all socialist countries should take

a far more active part in the establishment of the new international economic order. (. . .) (325)

(. . .) The elimination of under-development and the establishment of a new international economic order is a natural continuation of the battle for the eradication of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy and its consequences, for the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the new states and, concurrently, a prerequisite of securing world economic stability. That is why, in our opinion, it is required that the socialist countries participate more actively in supporting the efforts of developing countries with a view to their economic and social prosperity, to the attainment of the new economic order and the solving of the complex economic issues of international life. (. . .) (326)

(. . .) We deem it a point of honour for the communist and workers' parties on our continent, for all European peoples to take firm action for the complete elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the independent economic and social advancement of all the peoples of the world. More than ever before, it is imperative to ensure the conditions for the plenary assertion of all nations, so that they are able to manifest themselves without bias in international affairs and to participate actively, with equal rights, in the settlement of the major problems of today's world. (. . . (327)

(. . .) Naturally, the African states make different choices as to their ways of socio-economic emancipation, some of them taking firmly the path toward the organization of society upon socialist bases. However we should bear in mind that almost all African countries are underdeveloped, are still at the stage when independent national states are formed and consolidated, when self-reliant nations are formed, struggling to build the economic basis of society and carry social reforms through, in the interest of their free and independent development. So, priority should be given now not to distinguishing among these countries according to their options for the future, but to strengthening their solidarity to fully liquidate imperialist and colonialist domination, consolidate national independence, the development of a self-

reliant autochthonous economy, essential factors for these states' progress and advancement, for peace. (. . .)

(. . .) That is why, the revolutionary movement and the struggle for the eradication of underdevelopment, for the building of a new world economic and political order should form a unitary whole. We believe that the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, the revolutionary movement, all progressive and democratic forces must actively support this struggle, and hold an important place in the efforts for the implementation of these major objectives of the world today. It is the duty of the communist parties of the developed capitalist countries as well to actively back the righteous demands of the peoples in the developing countries, to take direct and strong action in the efforts for the establishment of the new international economic order. This is in line with the principle of solidarity, internationalism! (. . .)

(. . .) It is quite natural for the revolutionary movement, for the socialist countries, for the communist and workers' parties, including those in the developed capitalist countries, to consider that one of their main international duties is active support to the struggle for safeguarding the peoples' national independence. They have the duty to join forces with the national liberation movement, with the peoples' struggle in defence of freedom and sovereignty, of their sacred right to be full masters of their national riches, to decide their fate independently, without any interference from outside. In this way the revolutionary movement, the communist parties, the socialist countries, will really play an important part in international life, will make their contribution to the implementation of the people's progressive ideals, to the progressive development of human society. (. . .) (328)

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The Cooperation between Socialist Romania and the Developing Countries within the Efforts for Solving International Problems

(. . .) We see in our relations with the countries embarked on the path of free, self-dependent development an important factor both for the creation in each state of a powerful, independent economy and an integral part of the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy. As a matter of fact, Romania herself is a developing country — bearing in mind the level of the productive forces —, and that is why she considers that close cooperation with those countries is both in their interest and in the interest of Romania.

An important consideration from which Romania sets out in her policy of broad and multilateral expansion of cooperation with the newly independent states is that the abolition for good and all of the colonialist and neocolonialist practices and the liquidation of underdevelopment in the states that in the past were under colonial yoke, is one of the major and fundamental problems of contemporary world, on the solving of which détente and world peace, as well as the progress of all mankind greatly depend. (. . .) (329)

(. . .) Romania, which knew foreign oppression for a long time in the past, is deeply solidary with the struggle of the peoples which rise against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against the racial policy of apartheid and all forms of domination and oppression. Our people has granted and will continue to grant, in the future too, its full support — political, diplomatic, moral and material — to the national-liberation movements, to the peoples which are still under the colonial yoke, in their fight to conquer their sacred right to decide their own fate, to develop freely, independently. (. . .) (330)

(...) With many of these countries the foundation was laid of economic cooperation activities in production by the setting up of joint companies, by technical assistance and other forms of cooperation, meant to contribute greatly to the development of industry in these countries and hence to create conditions for the expansion of cooperation between Romania and these states. Broad cooperation exists particularly in the sphere of oil, mining and forestry, in agriculture, in the building materials industry and in other domains. All this is undoubtedly of great economic importance for the consolidation of the respective states' independence and sovereignty, for the international affirmation of a new policy of equality and mutual respect. (...) (331)

(...) I consider it necessary for us to pursue an increase of the share of those countries' economic exchanges in Romania's foreign trade to at least 25 per cent in two or three years' time, and to at least 30 per cent by 1980, under the conditions of the general development of our country's international economic exchanges.

In this framework, special heed will have to be paid to carrying into effect the agreements for expanded relations and in cooperation in production with the Arab countries. What we have achieved so far should be a ground for solid foundations of long-term cooperation in production and economic exchanges with those countries. We consider that good prospects exist in this respect. We are resolved to do everything to this end; I request the heads of diplomatic missions and commercial offices, all our representatives in these countries to make the efforts needed to unabatedly attain this goal.

Likewise, setting out from our agreements with a number of African countries, from the fact that the joint companies we have set up start operating with good results, we shall have to expand intensively cooperation with those countries over the next years. It is necessary that we lay ever more marked stress on the joint realization of mining, oil, industrial and agricultural projects which should help developing the productive forces in those countries, help the economic growth of our countries, and expand mutually advantageous economic exchanges and cooperation. Taking into account those countries' wish and possibilities of economic and social progress and the development rate in our country, we can estimate that all conditions are at hand for u- -essfully

carry out the task in the years to come to attain a sensible growth of the exchanges with those countries, inclusive of cooperation in production. It is the task of the heads of diplomatic missions and commercial offices, of all representatives of our state in those countries to unfold sustained activity in translating into life the direction set by our Party and State.

Taking into account the progress recorded in the last three or four years, in the economic relations with the Latin American countries, Romania's traditional links with those countries, the affinities engendered by the common origin, and particularly the mutual wish and need for further cooperation on multiple planes, we estimate that broad prospects exist for a powerful expansion both of economic exchanges and cooperation in production with the Latin American countries, in the years to come. (. . .)

(. . .) Significant results were also obtained in developing economic relations, cooperation in production included, with a number of Asian countries. I cannot but call the attention, here too, to the fact that we can do far more. With some of those countries, with which we have relations of long standing, we have not recorded the progress possible, and with other states we are in fact only at the beginning. (. . .) (332)

(. . .) At the same time, we consolidate our solidarity and collaboration with the developing countries, with the states that have embarked upon the road of a free, independent development, with all states of the world, irrespective of their social system, we actively participate in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of assets.

We firmly place at the basis of our international relations the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs and we resolutely militate for their generalization in the entire world political life — a decisive conditions for security and peace in the world. (. . .) (333)

(. . .) Having waged a tough fight full of sacrifice for the liberty and independence of its homeland, the Romanian people has steadily supported every people's fight in defence of its national being, against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, for national and social liberation. My country has given full support — political, diplomatic, moral and

material — to the national liberation movements, has hailed with satisfaction the assertion of the new independent states, their efforts aimed at consolidating their economic and political independence and develops many-sided fruitful relations with these states, actively collaborating with them to promote new democratic relations in the international arena, to eradicate underdevelopment, to build a new international economic and political order. (. . .) (334)

(. . .) Romania is active and makes sustained efforts in the broad collaboration with the developing states, with all world states, for the achievement of this new international economic order. (. . .) (335)

(. . .) As a socialist and developing country, Romania is firmly on the side of the countries fighting to remove this situation, to do away with underdevelopment, as also with the old relations that generated it, for the establishment of a new international economic and political order that should ensure conditions for a faster progress of all peoples, and first of all of the lagging ones, for the broad access of all nations to the gains of contemporary civilization. Setting out from these principles, Romania has deemed it necessary to extensively outline in the document recently* submitted to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly her standpoint on the new international economic order, expressing our country's wish and firm determination to actively contribute to the settlement of this fundamental issue of the contemporary epoch. (. . .) (336)

(. . .) Romania, as both a socialist and a developing country, acts for the continual expansion of her relations with the developing countries, setting out from the need for seeking out the ways to liquidating the current states of affairs in point of underdevelopment, to achieving new relations, that should secure the fast progress of the lagging countries. We ground these relations on the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. We set out from the fact that collaboration should promote these principles in all domains and also stand for an affirmation

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* 1975 (*Publishers' note*)

of the solidarity in the fight against the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist policy, for the observance of each people's right to be the full master of the national riches, to be able to use them in conformity with the interests of independent economic and social development. (...)

(...) Romania has active cooperation relations with all African countries, excluding of course the racialist régime of South Africa. With many of them we have cooperation relations in various forms, joint companies, too, we give technical assistance and we help them to train their cadres.

We have actively supported the African peoples' national liberation struggle under various forms, materially too. We consider it as a concrete expression of solidarity in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, of assistance to the peoples desirous to master their destinies. In the same spirit, we have been entertaining since long cooperation relations with, and granting support to, the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe. As a matter of fact, Romania is on the UN Committee for Namibia. We consider that in the wake of the victories won by the peoples in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tomé and Principe, still better conditions have been created to intensify the liberation struggle of the peoples in Nambia and Rhodesia and generally, to do away with the racialist régime and the policy of apartheid in South Africa. In the spirit of militant solidarity, Romania will continue giving its whole support to liberation movements, to the fight for the complete liquidation of any racialist policy and of apartheid, of any form of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. At the same time, we actively support, and we will do it further on, all the peoples who fight for independence, for the right to be masters of their destinies. (...) (337)

(...) Romania firmly starts from the necessity to develop a large collaboration with all countries that had put an end to imperialist and colonialist domination and stand for an independent economic development. The Romanian people had known itself for long the foreign oppression and domination, it had fought hard in defence of its being, for winning national independence. This is why it understands and actively supports the national liberation struggle of all peoples, their fight to be masters on their national riches and use them for their progress and welfare. (...) (338)

(. . .) We have supported and support the just fight of the peoples for national liberation, for self-dependent assertion, for their right to a free and independent life. We hailed with keenest satisfaction the historic victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against foreign intervention, for the wining of national liberty and independence and actively back up their efforts for self-relying development on the road of progress and civilization. We also hailed the victory won in recent years by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe. We most resolutely condemn the racialist apartheid policy, in South Africa and Rhodesia, and support the just fight of the peoples of Namibia and in other geographical regions under colonial domination for winning the right to be free and masters in their own country, to decide their own fate without any outside interference. We consider that now it is necessary for all peoples, all states to act most energetically for supporting the subjugated peoples, for the complete liquidation of the colonialist, neo-colonialist policy of racial discrimination and apartheid. (. . .) (339)

(. . .) It is strongly affirmed the need for the building of the new international economic order and — on this basis — of a new political order which should put an end to the relations of inequity and establish new links of equality, that should open up the road for the elimination of underdevelopment, the speeding up of the progress of the underdeveloped countries, as an objective necessity on which the creation of a world of peace and international collaboration depends. It is in this direction that the Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania carries on an intense activity for the consolidation of collaboration and friendship with the socialist countries, for the expansion of the multilateral collaboration with the developing countries — as essential factors for the promotion of the international relations on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty. (. . .)

(. . .) I shall now refer in brief to another aspect which holds an important place in the activity of the Academy, namely the training of a number of activists of other parties, of some national liberation movements, of some state leading personnel from various countries. This is part of our party's general policy of developing collaboration with other parties,

with the national liberation movements, with the developing countries. We should like to further more extend this aspect of our activity in the future, considering that the necessities for the elimination of underdevelopment, for the speeding up of the socio-economic progress of the backward countries demand well-trained personnel for all spheres of activity. We ought to think — naturally to the extent the parties and states that send to our country activists to learn, would desire it — to create them conditions to take part in a number of concrete activities even political ones, but particularly in the management and organizational activity of the enterprises, so that they could gain a better practical experience during their studies in Romania. I think this will be a still more important contribution to the consolidation of collaboration with the respective parties and countries, to the training of personnel they need for the development of their activity, for the ensurance of their economic and social progress. It is no doubt that in the future the requirements for personnel of these parties and states will further more increase and we need develop this aspect of our activity. This will be in fact an illustration of the solidarity, of the fraternal relations, of the joint struggle for the elimination of underdevelopment, for the promotion of a new policy of equality and independence, for the achievement of the economic and social progress in the world. (. . .) (340)

(. . .) The Romanian people has permanently manifested its profound solidarity with the peoples everywhere that rise to fight for safeguarding their national being, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Socialist Romania has given and is giving its full political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the national liberation movements, hailed with satisfaction the assertion of the new independent states, their efforts to build a new life, and broadly develops fruitful relations with these states on multiple planes, closely collaborates with them in the promotion internationally of genuinely equitable relations, for the liquidation of underdevelopment, for the building of a new international economic and political order. (. . .)

(. . .) We are firmly convinced that now it is more necessary than ever before to intensify the actions of the socialist countries, of the developing countries, of the non-aligned states, to strengthen solidarity and cooperation of all pro-

gressive, popular and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for the definitive elimination of the colonialist, neo-colonialist and racialist policy, for ensuring the free and independent development of all peoples, for the promotion of a new policy of peace and collaboration among nations. (...) (341)

(...) At the same time, Romania, taking part also in the activity of the group of the developing countries, consistently works for strengthening the links with those countries, with all the peoples which fight for independent economic and social progress, seeing in this an expression of solidarity in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the strong assertion of new, genuinely equitable relations on the world arena. In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Romania expands economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations with the developed capitalist countries, with all the states of the world, regardless of social system. (...) (342)

(...) We attach special importance to the relations with the developing countries, with the countries of the third world, as they are generally called. We regard the expansion of the relations with the developing countries not only as a way for the abolition of underdevelopment and for the economic progress of each country, but also for the consolidation of solidarity in the struggle for a more just and better world, which should allow each people to be master on its national wealth, and each country to develop without any outside interference, just as each people wishes to. (...) (343)

(...) In the future too, Romania will fully support and strengthen solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples for their free and independent assertion, for the full mastering of their national resources, and their turning to good account in their own interests, for their active participation on an equal footing in international life, in solving the problems mankind is confronted with today.

Our country has also constantly expanded collaboration with the countries of Latin America. The visits we made in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela in recent years, as well as the visits which a number of Latin American heads of state made in Romania were significant events in the development of mu-

tual relations in the political and economic fields, of cooperation in production with the Latin-American states. Trade has intensified and a number of cooperation ventures were carried out between Romania and those states. With Argentina and Costa Rica we have treaties of friendship and collaboration. Active collaboration with the Latin American countries has also developed in the international arena for the promotion of the principles of national liberty and independence, of equal rights, and for the establishment of a new, equitable policy in the world. We will do everything to develop Romania's relations with the Latin-American countries we are attached to by many traditions and affinities thanks to our common Latin origin. (. . .)

(. . .) As a socialist country and a developing country, too, Romania firmly militates for and is resolved to make its entire contribution to the efforts for the elimination of underdevelopment and of the causes which generated it. A strong expression of this policy are the close links of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between Romania and all the states which have won independence and set out on the road of self-dependent progress. The share of the developing countries in our overall economic relations has grown from 18 per cent in 1975 to 21.3 per cent at the beginning of this year* and we would like it to be of 25 per cent at least by 1980. Romania grants active assistance to these states by developing truly equitable economic relations with them and also by giving them technical assistance and training specialists they need for the construction of a modern industry and economy. (. . .) (344)

(. . .) Socialist Romania, the Romanian people have always supported actively the African countries' and peoples' struggle for abolition of any imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, as well as their efforts for bolstering their national independence and sovereignty, for eradicating the aftermaths of the long colonialist oppression, for a fast-paced harmonious development in keeping with the demands of the contemporary economic and social progress.

The enduring ties of solidarity and collaboration that unite the Romanian people and the African peoples are bet-

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* 1977 (*Publishers' note*)

ter illustrated today by the ever richer content of the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the independent states of Africa. We are glad to see that these relations have made uninterrupted headway, that they have continually got broader and deeper upon the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, mutual benefit and regard. Moreover our countries cooperate fruitfully with one another in the realm of foreign policy, at the UN and other international bodies and conferences, in the framework of the developing countries' group to the end of a correct and democratic settlement of the major issues confronting mankind to the benefit of all peoples.

Romania has expressed its militant solidarity by giving its whole political, diplomatic, moral and material assistance to the struggle being waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for freedom and independence, as well as to the independent African states that were harmed in the wake of the aggressive actions undertaken by the racialist regimes. Most resolutely will we continue to act for many-sidedly strengthening and developing our relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the independent states of Africa, with the national liberation movements and the African peoples, being firmly convinced that it harmonizes with the general aspirations for peace and concord internationally, serving also the cause of freedom, independence and social progress all the world over. (. . .) (345)

(. . .) I should like to mention that we feel closely linked and solidary with the developing countries. We will go on strengthening this solidarity and cooperation, as we believe that the expanded working-together among the developing countries will help them to score progress, along the path of their social-economic development. After having embarked on the stage of medium economic development we will continue our close ties with the developing countries, consolidating our working together with them, making our contribution to their general progress. (. . .) (346)

(. . .) It is our firm position to work also in the future for strengthening the collaboration with all the developing countries, for expanding our cooperation with them. In this respect, the experience gained so far — both good and bad — should be resorted to not for reducing the cooperation

ventures with the developing countries, but for better organizing the future activity in as much as economic and general relations with these countries are concerned. (...)

(...) Taking into account the fact that Socialist Romania is herself a developing country and has limited resources, the main form of assistance to the developing countries we can promote is cooperation in production on mutually advantageous bases in the domains of industry, agriculture, construction, transport and others. To this end, we give special attention to the setting up of joint companies with the developing countries and the building in these countries of production enterprises, the investments made by us being reimbursed from the production of these enterprises. Of course, one of our concerns is that economic cooperation ventures be developed on a mutually profitable basis, contributing to both the development of the productive forces in these countries, to their fast industrialization and an efficient use of their national resources, hence to the increase of their national income, and the meeting of certain needs of our developing national eeconomy.

Besides, although this means for us a series of efforts, we grant and shall continue to grant technical assistance to the developing countries and shall train experts from these countries in our country where currently over 12,000 foreign young people are studying. Although we have to solve problems related to ensuring tuition and accomodation, our country shall not limit but expand the activity of training students from these countries.

We consider that the further promotion of economic cooperation, technical assistance and training of experts represents a direct and important form whereby Romania can contribute to supporting the developing countries. As communists, as a socialist state it is our political and moral duty to contribute to this. In turn, Romania, receives in this framework support from these countries. By steadily expanding our cooperation, we create a broad system of mutually advantageous help between our countries, an expression of our solidarity in the common effort for the independent socio-economic development of every people, for the promotion in the world of a new policy of equality and respect among nations, of full equity, for the abolition of the old imperialist policy of domination and oppression. (...) (347)

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(...) In spite of all difficulties which will still exist in the way of the building of the new economic and political order, of détente, we have the full conviction that the broad masses, the peoples, will triumph in this grandiose struggle. There is no doubt that this struggle will historically be victorious. There is no force in the world able to check the triumphal advance of the peoples towards full liberation from any oppression — social or national — towards a society of equal nations, of equal people! The achievement of these grand goals our forerunners dreamt of for centuries and which the peoples of the entire world aim at is possible today through the united struggle of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere, of the peoples who must take their destinies into their own hands. (...) (348)

(...) Despite the complexity of the topical problems, Romania regards optimistically and confidently the future development of the international life. We are fully confident in the will and power of the peoples to act so that a more righteous and better world should be built on the earth! As far as we are concerned, we are determined actively to participate in the building of this world in which each people and each nation can develop according to its will and at the same time closely cooperate with the other peoples so that on our planet the gains of science and civilization should serve each nation, each man alike! (...) (349)

(...) The ratio of forces is rapidly changing, the peoples affirm with ever greater force their will to put an end to the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy of force and diktat, to be masters on their riches and use them according to the interests of their own economic and social development, to raise their welfare, and strengthen national independence and sovereignty. These trasformations ask for a thorough knowledge of the factors and laws which govern the development of life in the world, the understanding of the fact that the entire social development confirms the spirit of the revolutionary outlook about world and life, that whatever the obstacles and difficulties that might appear, mankind firmly steps forward toward a classless society, toward a society of social justice and equality among nations, toward a society in which each people and each citizen should consciously take part both in the development of the new

relations in the world, and in the democratic development at home, in the full affirmation of human personality. (...) (350)

(...) There are many obstacles to overcome in the way of building the new international economic order. I am generally optimistic and I trust the force of the peoples, their solidarity and will power to change the old state of things, to ensure the victory of the struggle for liberation, the victory of the cause of independence and sovereignty, the building of a more just and better world. (...) (351)

(...) There are indeed many questions to be solved in the present-day world, but the events which are in constant transformation strongly prove that the peoples are more determined to put an end to the old state of things, to work for a new international economic order, for democratic relations among all nations. We must really do everything so that the wonderful gains of science and culture should serve the interests of mankind, the peoples' welfare, man's welfare. (...) (352)

(...) The ideas of socialism, of independence and progress are asserting themselves with growing power, despite difficulties and the attempts of the reactionary, retrograde forces to halt the advance of history. That is why we are convinced that we can look to the future in full confidence. The peoples, the true makers of history, have the force and capacity to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and to build a better and more just world on our Planet, a world of peace and collaboration. (...) (353)

(...) Highly significant is the fact that more and more peoples among the developing countries declare for the organization of the society on socialist bases, which demonstrates that in the contemporary world only socialism offers the possibility of a rapid surmounting of economic and social backwardness, of a solution of the masses' vital, fundamental problems. We particularly strengthen the solidarity and collaboration with the countries which have chosen the path of socialist development, as for instance Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Ethiopia, Algeria and others. At the same time we consider it necessary to broaden our links with

all the developing countries, starting from the need not to oppose some of those countries to others, from the need to do our outmost for strengthening the solidarity among all the developing countries, as this is the guarantee of solving the complex problems of underdevelopment, of ensuring independence and of building the new international economic order.
(. . .)

(. . .) I think I will meet the entire approval of the participants in this solemn session, of our people, in calling on all democratic and patriotic forces, on all the peoples of the world to cement their solidarity and collaboration, to make everything possible to have their say and secure the triumph of the ideals of friendship and understanding, of independence and welfare, of a lasting peace throughout the world.
(. . .) (354)

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NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU

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